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WHY HOMICIDE HAS INCREASED IN THE UNITED STATES.—I.

BY PROFESSOR CESARE LOMBROSO.

ONE of the surest and most confident conclusions I have drawn from a study of crime is that, in those countries which are supposed to be the most cultivated and civilized, crimes, if they do not decrease in number, are certainly decreasing in ferocity; whilst, on the other hand, crimes destitute of the element of violence, such as swindling, fraudulent bankruptcy, and kindred offences, are constantly increasing. In other words, the assassin and the murderer become transformed into the thief, and the transformation involves a maximum risk to property and a minimum risk to human life. Belgium may be cited in illustration of this fact. Statistics show that in that country homicides decreased from 1 in 83,000 inhabitants in 1882 to 1 in 93,220 in 1892. England, during the same period, shows a similar ratio of decrease, namely, from 1 in 68,000 inhabitants to 1 in 92,000; but whilst sanguinary crimes in the latter country thus decreased 8 per cent., bankruptcies increased from 28 to 36 per cent., and robberies 30 per cent., the increase in population meantime being 13 per cent. Thus it is that when we read of any singularly atrocious crime in Europe we almost unconsciously attri-

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bute it to some community which still remains in barbarism, though in close contact with civilization, such, for instance, as Corsica as opposed to France, or the island of Sardinia as opposed to Italy. The statistics of homicide are a sure guide as to a people's state of culture, and it may be safely asserted that the latter increases with increased wealth, greater density of population and diminished illiteracy.* The following table shows the relative proportions of homicides in the countries named :

Italy	96	per	100,000 inhabitants.
Spain	58	"	"
Portugal	25	"	"
Hungary	75	"	"
Austria	25	"	"
Sweden and Norway	13	"	"
France and Belgium	18	"	"
Germany	5	"	"
England	5	"	"

The United States stand alone in offering an extraordinary exception to what may be called the rule, for, according to statistics (not always reliable, however) published there, homicides are of startling frequency in that country. This fact is of greater significance when we consider that, whilst in all other civilized countries homicides are yearly decreasing in number, in America the contrary is the case, such crimes being continually on the increase.

If we compare the results of the last census with those of the census of 1880, we find that in the latter year there were 4,600 arrests for the crime of homicide, whilst according to the figures published June 1, 1890, the number of similar arrests had increased to 7,500.† From this it would appear that homicides had increased 60 per cent. within ten years, while the population had increased but 25 per cent. And what is of graver moment is the fact that this growth of the crime referred to is progressive, that is, it is, as above stated, steadily increasing year by year.

While it is true that the proportion of twelve homicides to every 100,000 inhabitants in the United States is in startling contrast to the statistics of England, Scotland, and Germany, it is not so when compared with those of countries not so highly civilized as the latter, such, for instance, as Italy, Spain, Austria, and Hungary, over which the United States have a notable advantage.

* *Vide* Lombroso, *Criminality*, Vol. III., pages 59, 66, 209, 160-171.
† See Faulkner's *Crime and the Census*.

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Inasmuch, however, as America prides itself upon being at the head of civilization, representing to-day what Europe will be in the course of a hundred years, the fact that the crime of homicide should be so much more general there than in Great Britain and Germany, and that not only is there no year showing a decrease in this crime, but on the contrary a continual increase, would seem to be so much at variance with the undeniable civil progress of that country, that it becomes interesting to ascertain what are the causes of this apparent paradox.

I will endeavor to explain what I believe these to be. To this purpose I have availed myself of documents furnished by Brice and Cook, and, especially, of Bosco's *Homicide in the United States* (which is probably the ablest work extant on the subject), as also of Faulkner's *Crime and the Census, 1896.* At the outset I hasten to say that I at once discovered arguments tending to modify the significance which might otherwise be attached to the statistics I have quoted. If we take the older States of the Union—those which are the most highly civilized, which possess a pure judiciary and which furnish us with reliable statistical information*—it will be found that these sections are almost as free from homicides as the most enlightened countries of Europe. The State of Massachusetts furnishes us with data showing not only the number of arrests, but also the number of deaths resulting annually from personal violence. The figures given for the latter are 0.5 to each 100,000 inhabitants, less than the proportion furnished by England, 0.9, or by Scotland, 1.6. The same thing is true of others of the New England States, viz.: Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, where the number of deaths due to homicide in the year 1893 reached only 0.6 per 100,000 inhabitants.

From this it would appear that, in some parts of the United States, conditions being equal with those of favored parts of Europe, there is a marked tendency toward diminution in the crime of homicide.

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the legislation of almost all the States considers as murder or homicide nearly all cases of wounding followed by death, and, in fact, all crimes resulting in fatality—even when death is merely incidental and

* Cook, *Murders in Massachusetts.* Quarterly Publication of the American Statistical Association, 1894. Second Annual Report Upon the Births, Marriages, Deaths, and Divorces of the State of Maine. Augusta, 1896.

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unintentional, such as, for instance, death resulting from incendiarism, or the duel, or other causes. The law even considers as a murderer him who by false testimony has caused another to be convicted of a capital offense, and as guilty of manslaughter any person who, by his negligence or by the commission of an illegal act, causes the death of another. Many persons, therefore, whom the law in the United States treats as homicides would not be so considered in Europe. Hence the homicidal statistics, which apparently are so discreditable to the United States, have not the same significance as similar statistics would have in Europe. However, notwithstanding this attenuation, the statistics of homicide in the Republic, as a whole, are so portentous that it becomes us to seek how we can account for the acknowledged evil.

Climate.—Let us begin by studying the effects of climate. In the United States, as elsewhere, the southern regions by reason of their warm climate are prone to engender violent passion; hence the greater number of homicides in such sections than in colder climes—an increase of from 17 per cent. in 1880 to 40 per cent. in 1890. A similar augmentation is noted in almost all countries more or less tropical. I may note here that Holtzendorf and many others who have made a study of such matters have shown that in southern countries homicides are fifteen times more numerous than in northern countries. Thus we find that, whereas in New England there is but one homicide to every 66,000 inhabitants, there is in Texas one to every 115. In the latter State even school children may be found with murderous weapons in their possession. A somewhat similar condition prevails in Southern Italy, the consequence being that while in Northern Italy there are but seven homicides to every 100,000 inhabitants, there are in the south thirty-one. In fact, so great is the effect of temperature, that even in England it has been found that during a given period there were considerably more homicides in the summer than in the winter; in other words, they numbered in July 1,043 and in June 1,071, while in January there were but 705 and in February 701. Hence the assertion of Ferri that in years when the average temperature has reached a higher than the normal degree there is a notable increase of this crime.

Immigration.—The increase in homicides is more notable in

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the Atlantic than in the Central States, but this is due to a great extent to the character of the immigration. In the Atlantic States—especially New York and Pennsylvania—there is a great volume of immigration, consisting of Italians, Russians, and Hungarians, many of whom have already contributed powerfully to increase the volume of criminality in Europe. In the Central States, on the other hand, particularly Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois, the principal immigration consists of Swedes and Danes, to whom the crime of homicide is repugnant.

Of the Italian immigrants, two-thirds in the year 1890 were found dwelling in the Atlantic States, while of the Russian immigrants one-half, of the Hungarian three-fourths, and of the Scandinavian two-thirds were to be found in the Northern Central States. It is curious to notice in this connection that ethnical statistics in America furnish us with the same reports as we are accustomed to in Europe. Thus, the homicides were found to be in the following racial proportions:

Scandinavians	5.8	per	100,000
Germans	9.7	"	"
English	10.4	"	"
Irish	7.5	"	"
Austrians	7.2	"	"
French	27.4	"	"
Italians	58.1	"	"
Mexicans	116.9	"	"

That is, the several nationalities named furnished the same proportion of homicides in the United States as in their respective countries, and even the children of these immigrants supply an analagous proportion, although greatly modified, thus:

Scandinavians	1.3
Germans	3.2
French	10.3
Irish	11.4

The ethnical influence may become modified, but it is not eradicated, and it constitutes a coefficient of criminality which may readily escape the observation of the statistician owing to the generality of naturalization. It must not be forgotten, however, that immigration is of itself a coefficient of crime. Joly has shown that, conditions being equal, the richest departments of France furnish us with a greater number of homicides than the other departments, solely because they contain a greater number of immigrants, especially Italians and Spaniards.

Further, in France it is found that of 100,000 natives but 8

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are brought before the courts, whereas of a like number of foreigners (immigrants) 41 are arrested for infraction of the laws. The same is the case in the United States, where criminality is found to keep pace with the growth of immigration.

California,	0.30	criminals	per	100	inhabitants.....	33	per cent.	immigrants
Nevada,	0.31	"	"	"	.....	33	"	"
Wyoming,	0.35	"	"	"	.....	38	"	"
Montana,	0.19	"	"	"	.....	29	"	"
Arizona,	0.16	"	"	"	.....	39	"	"
New York,	0.27	"	"	"	.....	23	"	"
New Mexico,	0.03	"	"	"	....	6.7	"	"
Columbia,	0.11	"	"	"	.....	1.3	"	" (*)

These figures would seem to dispose of the assertion that crime is largely due to density of population; for, as is well known, the population of Montana, Wyoming, Nevada and Arizona is exceedingly sparse, and yet, owing to the greater proportion of immigrants in those States, the ratio of criminality is far in excess of what it is in New York, Pennsylvania, and Columbia, where the population is a hundred times denser but with a smaller proportion of immigration. Nor need this greater tendency toward criminality among the immigrant class surprise us when we consider that those composing it are derived from a social element which is driven by poverty to overcome that habit of immobility which is common to the human race, and if they are possessed of greater enterprise and activity than their fellows, they are at the same time more anomalous, and are as a rule at that age (from 20 to 30) which furnishes the largest number of recruits to criminality. Separated from their friends and far from their native country, they are not restrained by shame from committing crime, and being often crowded together, nearly all of them young men, often without work and with no hope of outside aid, they are unable to resist the impulse to violate the laws. In their native cities nothing but some very exceptional circumstance would have driven them to crime, but in their new surroundings the slightest incident frequently serves as a pretext, and as opportunities for crime are being constantly offered them, they are dragged along by the current. These immigrants, in fact, represent that agglomeration of humanity to which is offered the greatest facility for and the strongest incentive to crimes of opportunity. It is owing to this fact that in many instances bands of brigands are composed of nomads and immigrants.

* Tenth Census (1890) of the United States, Vol. II., page 1659.

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I should add here that, as very many of the immigrants referred to are of necessity employed in servile labor, they are frequently brought into close contact with wealth, which arouses their envy and cupidity.

Negroes and Mongolians.—But a much greater cause of homicide in the United States is the vast number of colored people in that country. If immigration tends to the increase of crime even among the descendants of immigrants who may have become assimilated, how much greater is it increased by the presence of a race which finds itself in a state of civil inferiority. If we are to accept the statement that 60 per cent. of the homicides are furnished by the whites and the remaining 40 per cent. by the colored race, it must be remembered that the former constitute 88 per cent. of the population and the latter but 12 per cent.; therefore it is clear that were it not for the negro population the crime of homicide would be almost as rare in the United States as it is in the most civilized countries of Europe. The colored race furnishes to the statistics of this crime, proportionately, more than five times as many cases as the whites; in other words, among the former there are forty-five homicides to every 100,000 inhabitants, while among the latter there are but eight to every 100,000. It should not be forgotten, however, that the proportion of colored criminals, according to population, is apparently always greater because the average term of imprisonment is frequently longer than for the white criminal. This tends to increase the number of those in prison in proportion to the colored population. Moreover, such is the prejudice against the negro, especially in the Southern States, that it is reflected even in the administration of justice, with the result that the colored offender against the law is judged and condemned with greater severity than the white offender. If we add to this disadvantage the negro's greater shiftlessness, his greater carelessness to conceal his crime, his greater proneness to confess, we can understand how much his chances of conviction are increased.

But the greatest obstacle to the negro's progress is the fact that there remain latent within him the primitive instincts of the savage; for notwithstanding that the garb and the habits of the white man may have given him a veneer of modern civilization, he is still too often indifferent to and careless of the lives of others; and he betrays that lack of the sentiment of

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pity, commonly observed among savage races, which causes them to regard homicide as a mere incident, and as glorious in case it is the outcome of revenge. To this latter the negro is frequently impelled by a spirit of resentment of the prejudices of his white fellow-citizens; and just as frequently the motive for his crimes may be found in the gratification of his brutal instincts.

Further, there may be adduced in explanation of the negro's tendency to crime the fact that he is still practically in servitude; for while the law has emancipated him, it cannot be denied that the law in this respect is to a great extent a dead letter. It has been amply demonstrated that from a servile condition spring the greatest of criminals.

Again, a supreme cause of the homicidal tendency found in the negro race of the United States may be sought in their moral and material conditions, which in some respects are rendered worse by the abolition of slavery, producing, as it did, a ferment in the minds of the colored people and exposing them to social problems in the presence of which even a stronger race would have stood appalled and powerless. With a diminished surveillance, and an increased antagonism between whites and blacks, rendered inevitable by an emancipation which was not due to but in spite of the Southern whites, it is not difficult to conceive that the law decreeing equality of the two races must inevitably have become practically ineffective, the negro still remaining morally, if not bodily, the white man's slave. Even in the British West Indies where the negroes have long enjoyed ample liberty, they still preserve their primitive habits, with a marked tendency to homicide and a rarity of suicides.*

As to the Chinese, they are more given to infanticide, which they do not regard as a real crime. Considering their restricted numbers, they furnish a large percentage of criminals; but while the prisons have for years been full of these Mongolians, their contribution to criminality is not increasing, for the law prohibits Chinese immigration, and there is little or no natural increase of such population in the United States, owing to the very limited number of women of that race in the country.

CESARE LOMBROSO.

(*To be continued.*)

* See Hoffmann, *The Negroes in the West Indies*; Strahan, *Suicide and Insanity*, 1896.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF GOLF.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

GOLF is generally regarded as a hobby which should be followed with a single mind, and some enthusiasts may possibly resent its being used as a kind of philosophic stalking horse for approaching certain shy problems in psychology. I have found, however, when conversing with many confirmed golfers that any subject which has a colorable connection with their favorite sport is treated with tolerance. Hence I trust that a brief discussion of some of the nervous and mental processes involved in the game may interest the golfing readers of this REVIEW.

It must be evident to every one who has watched a golfer's progress that there must be some remarkable affinity between th human mind and the royal and ancient game. Every golf club becomes a mission centre for the surrounding district and one continually sees that those who come to scoff remain to play.

It would be easy to justify the game of golf on rational grounds and to show that it affords one of the most beneficial forms of relaxation for brain workers who are not able to indulge in violent or fatiguing sports. But, as is generally the case in human affairs, the tyro's impelling motive is seldom based upon reason.

At present, although the game is played the whole world over, one finds that it has not obtained a firm foothold except where the English language is spoken. Hence, if we wish to enquire into the psychic idiosyncrasies which conduce to golf contagion—in the way that physicians enquire into the predisposing causes of disease—we must seek them among the mental peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon race. Now, to the outsider who has never handled a club the game looks ridiculously easy. The object which has to be struck is stationary; hence the man who has played cricket, or fives, or baseball, thinks that it is the simplest thing in

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the world to hit it in the direction in which he wishes it to go. He takes hold of a club (which he generally handles as if it were a cricket bat) and strikes at the ball. As often as not he misses it altogether, and even if he chances to aim correctly he finds himself completely outdriven by men whose athletic capabilities he holds in contempt. On following up his first attempt with the stern determination to better it, our beginner, after striking with all his might three or four times and plowing up the ground around his ball, manages at length to move it fully two yards. The difficulties seem unaccountable. Although the ball sits still to be hit he cannot hit it; and, the more he sets his teeth and exerts his muscles in attempts to send it soaring forward after the manner of his opponent, the more complete is his humiliation.

Now, I think we have discovered the first element of golf-mania in the stiff-necked and pig-headed Caucasian. After such a defeat it is absolutely impossible for him, consistently with retaining his self-respect, to leave things as they are. To give up golf at this stage is to acknowledge that he cannot do something which is obviously and ludicrously simple. He must either go on or else acknowledge himself an impotent paralytic. Yet, the more he concentrates his soul upon the game, the greater becomes the contrast between his miserable attempts and the feats of the players whom he lately despised. Although in the very slough of despond he grimly (and literally) plows his way onwards, determined not to be beaten. At length—usually when his humiliation is complete—by a lucky chance he makes an effective stroke, and the ball springs away from his club-head like a thing of life and flies an incredible distance. It was the one thing needed to weld the fetters of golf slavery. He goes home with blistered hands and aching shoulders, and before he sleeps he has re-struck that miraculous stroke a hundred times. Next morning finds him again upon the links. Ere a week is out he is armed with all the complex paraphernalia of the game, which he formerly regarded as contemptible superfluities, and is practising "approach shots" in his garden to the ruination of the sacred turf. He buys sundry handbooks on golf and spends a small fortune in lessons from the club professional. All his thoughts and conversation are saturated with golf, and his friends sum up his condition by saying that he has "got it badly."

Having thus suggested the chief reasons why the game is so

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seductive to most people who allow themselves to tamper with it, I will now endeavor to explain what takes place in the brain and nervous apparatus of the learner before he becomes an adept. Perhaps it is taking rather a liberty with the word *psychology* to apply it to nervous processes in which conscious thought has but little share, but at present we have no other term which can be used in its place. The nervous processes to which I shall refer are by no means peculiar to golf; in fact, they come into play on almost every occasion when we perform any act requiring the combined efforts of various muscles. Probably it is because they seem so much a matter of course that they have hitherto received so little attention from students of mental science. They belong, in fact, to that animal or automatic part of us which it has been the fashion of nearly all moral philosophers to ignore, and which we are only beginning to understand. He who takes up golf in early life probably learns to play as unconsciously as he learned to walk, and if the game were a development of any other branch of athletics in which most youths acquire proficiency, most of us would probably drift into it in an automatic fashion and acquire a fair amount of skill without knowing how. It is because golf compels those of us who take it up in adult life to begin again at the beginning that it helps us to appreciate some of the elementary conditions of semi-automatic acts. Another peculiarity of golf which renders it useful as a revealer of psychic methods is the fact that each player acts independently and pursues his course without let or hindrance, except from his own want of skill and the condition of the ground. In football, cricket, and almost all popular athletic sports there is a continual interaction of wills and the constant excitement of opposed endeavors. Hence the mental and nervous processes involved are extremely complex, and no chance offers for calm introspective analysis while the game is proceeding. But the golfer, from the time he leaves the first "tee" until he finally "holes out," usually has the ball solely at his own disposal, and there is abundant time for meditation as he follows it after each stroke. Proficiency in other games instead of assisting the golf player rather stands in his way. The driving stroke at golf is utterly different from a stroke at cricket, hockey, tennis, or baseball. In all these, vigorous action of the flexor and extensor muscles of the arm is necessary, but the golfer who would drive "a long ball"

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must reduce the muscular action of the arm to a minimum and do all with a turn of the body and a pendulum-like swing of the club. This is why even the accomplished all-round athlete has practically to begin over again when he becomes a golfer. The muscular habits which he has acquired during his boyhood, and which give him easy skill in other games, are worse than useless, and an entirely new set of automatic actions must be evolved.

Probably, few of my readers are conscious of the extremely complex nature of some of the simplest muscular acts. A little thought will show that both in ourselves and in the great majority of the lower animals elaborate calculations are unconsciously performed almost every time the body is put in motion. Look how exactly a beast of prey calculates the distance of its quarry before it makes a spring, and what a complex business must be the adjusting of all the muscular forces so as to enable it to alight upon the back of its victim. Mental science has now arrived at a stage when we can no longer be content with the explanation that such actions are "instinctive." Every athlete is perfectly aware that as he approaches a jump a calculating process is going on within him, and he knows before he arrives at the obstacle whether the forces he can summon are sufficient to carry him over. Like the beast of prey above alluded to, he can without difficulty estimate the propulsive force required so that he can alight at any point he pleases within the limits of his jumping distance. That this capacity for mental calculation is something quite distinct from the ordinary mathematical faculty is shown by the fact that it exists in great perfection in early life, before the power to deal with figures develops.

As I have said, golf compels those of us who take up the game after we have arrived at manhood to fall back upon subconscious mental processes which are common in young children and in the lower animals, and I shall show that most of the well-worn maxims of professional instructors are calculated to aid us in this attempt. Take, for instance, the two phrases which are dinned into the ears of every beginner, "Keep your eye on the ball," and "Slow back." Every tyro finds out that it is by no means easy to estimate the distance of the ball correctly enough to enable his club to strike it. We find, however, that among the lower animals this power to estimate distances is very widely distributed. Even as low down in the scale as the chameleon, or

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the serpent, the distance of any object to be struck seems to be reckoned with unerring accuracy. Undoubtedly, the majority of savages possess this instinct in a much more perfect form than does the average civilized man. Skill in this direction has scarcely any relationship with ordinary mathematical aptitude. I once knew an extremely thick-headed farm laborer, unable to read or write, who possessed the faculty to an extraordinary extent, and who would tell you on the instant how many yards an object was from where he stood. I once had the curiosity to ask him how he made his wonderful calculations, which were almost always justified by subsequent measurements. He replied that he did not know, but while he looked at the object he felt the answer coming, and by and by it came, and when it had come he felt perfectly sure of it. This seems to be very like the reply given by several of the calculating boys whose remarkable mathematical powers have astonished the world. Now, the simple act of staring hard at the ball while preparing to strike enables the golfer to judge its distance with exactness, although no conscious effort to form such an estimate is occupying the mind.

When one begins to analyze the physiological processes involved in driving, one soon becomes astonished at their complexity. Almost all the muscles in the limbs and trunk have to take their share in the action. Each must act in concert with all the others and not one must shirk or overdo its part. Obviously, the message which each receives as to the expenditure of power expected from it must proceed from some central source. Think of the generalship required by the nervous head-centre in controlling such complex manœuvres! Von Moltke's historic combinations at the outbreak of the Franco-German war are mere child's play in comparison. It is obvious that the innumerable orders telegraphed down the motor nerves are sent off practically at the same moment, yet the second precept ("Slow back") to which I have alluded shows that an appreciable time is required for a successful solution of the problem to be worked out. I have seen several of our great professional champions make their strokes with a very rapid back swing, but to the beginner this is absolutely fatal. While the club is being slowly lifted a tremendous amount of business is being done in the telegraph department of the golfer's body. Doubtless it is because of the unaccustomed character of the movements required in golf that

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an appreciable amount of time is necessary to enable groups of muscles, not habitually working in concert, to act harmoniously together. The fact that the eye must be kept upon the ball during the whole swing suggests that the controlling agency within the skull is all the time watching, criticising and adjusting all the forces marshalled at its command.

I have heard many people who are not golfers, and who know nothing about the difficulties and refinements of the game, make great sport of the "preliminary waggle" of the club when a player is "addressing his ball." If I have succeeded in making myself intelligible so far, I think the use of this manœuvre will now be fully appreciated. In all probability the immediate problem before the golfer is worked out theoretically, or, at any rate, is "enunciated" during the "preliminary waggle," and the time taken up by the slow backward swing is occupied by the work of turning theory into practice.

Now, if the ball always lay in the same position relatively to the player, and he always used a club of the same length and weight, one can understand that he would soon acquire mechanical accuracy in making his strokes. But, as a matter of fact, as soon as a golfer has driven from the tee he hardly ever gets a ball lying in such a position as to be able effectively to reproduce the action which was successful at the outset. As often as not, when playing through the green, he finds himself obliged to stand upon a slight eminence above the ball or in a slight hollow below it, and that he must use a club of different length and weight from his driver. Hence, on each occasion, the calculation has to be based upon fresh data, and it is only by observing the same two principles which guide him at the start that he can hope to make a successful shot with his "iron" or "cleek." How independent the whole proceeding is of the mental faculties which habitually obey the will is shown by the disastrous result of bestowing too strenuous attention upon the strokes. True enough, it is essential to give one's whole self to each stage of the game if anything like success is to be hoped for. But one must do it in a kind of passive and animal fashion, committing the business as it were to that sub-agent of the will who has charge of the automatic department. Any attempt to bring the conscious will into play, as one is often tempted to do after a series of exasperating failures, at once sets the automatic department on strike. Hence a third motto that

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is repeated *ad nauseam* by all instructors, "Don't press." It is not altogether easy to give a sufficing verbal definition of "pressing," although all practical golfers know perfectly well what is meant by the term. Broadly speaking, a player who "presses" endeavors to enhance the effect of the swing of his club by a vigorous use of the muscles of his arms. This, however, is only the mechanical part of the vice. It really originates from the interference of the active will with the plans of its automatic deputy. The proceeding and its results remind me of what I once observed in a well organized factory, when the principal partner, who knew but little about practical details, threw a whole department into confusion by appearing personally on the scene in order to hurry on work during an important crisis.

The invariable failure of a stroke to which too much conscious will and attention have been given greatly puzzles the average beginner. In most of the affairs of life we find that a victory can be gained over difficulties by strenuous endeavor, and usually the powers which we desire to bring to bear are so fully under the control of the will that they yield obedience to its imperious mandates. But in golf, at any rate in the case of the beginner, this is not the case. Still, it does seem extraordinary that stroke after stroke may be made by a novice with the whole strength of his muscles without the club-head once chancing to meet the ball in the proper manner. Probably, the explanation is that the conscious will and the automatic calculating department are pulling in different directions.

One vice of almost every novice throws an interesting light upon the nervous processes which we have been discussing. Every beginner fails in many of his strokes by striking the ball upon the top. He may have observed the instructions of his teacher to the letter, especially as regards the three principles which I have already dealt with, and yet time after time he somehow finds himself striking half an inch short, and therefore failing to touch the ball at the necessary spot. In reality, the precept rather than the player is to blame for this fault. It seems due to a too exact and scrupulous observance of the rule, "Keep your eye on the ball."

Now, naturally, when one is standing over a small object, such as a golf ball, and looking at it steadily, one sees the upper surface. Hence, the automatic calculator within takes the dis-

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tance between the top of the ball and the player's body as the guide for the length of the stroke. Obviously, if we wish to move such an object as a golf ball in a horizontal direction, we need to strike it about on a level with its centre. But the centre of the ball being invisible, and its horizontal equator but dimly seen, these do not receive the recognition which is their due. Hence, it becomes necessary for the golfer to keep not only his eye upon the ball, *but his mind's eye upon the ball's invisible centre*, otherwise the stupid exactitude of his automatic calculating machine will make his stroke too short.

Probably, the best style of golf is acquired not through any special efforts to assume correct attitudes on the part of the learner, but simply by association with really good players. We all know how remarkably independent of the rational intelligence is that faculty for mimicry which we share with our arboreal cousins. One continually notices that tricks of speech and of expression have been acquired in this way, not only without the knowledge of the imitator, but even against his will. The eye does not report to the conscious *ego* all that it observes. In common with other departments of the frame, where various functions proceed without the cognizance of the proprietor, it has certain independent duties. Many an impression received by the eye is passed on to the storehouse of memory without the conscious intelligence being aware of the fact, and, more than this, information so acquired is continually acted upon in such a manner as to bring into play nearly every part of the system except that central conscious particle which we call "I." This is remarkably shown in unconscious mimicry. Two people living together may gradually grow almost exactly alike in feature, through the organs of expression in each bringing themselves into conformity with the impressions received through the sense of sight. This is all done not only without intent, but without the least rumor of the change reaching the consciousness of either person. One can therefore understand how it is that, since most of the actions required at golf require the free use of the automatic forces of the body, it pays for the learner simply to attach himself to some superior player in order to absorb his style.

Unfortunately the precept, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," applies especially to golf. I have seen a novice acquire some vicious habit, such as a hurried or jerky swing,

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after a single round with a player whose style was bad. In a club where I sometimes play, there is one gentleman who, in spite of an abominable style, achieves considerable success. He, therefore, frequently plays with some of the other leading golfers of the district, and it is not difficult to observe in those who have been most often upon the links with him the results of his evil example. This unconscious mimicry is notably displayed in single acts. One often observes during a match that if one player "tops" or "slices" his ball when driving, the other does likewise. The fault of the first may be so exactly reproduced by his opponent that the two balls are found lying within a few feet of one another, although both are far away from the line to the next hole.

The automatism which we have been discussing shows itself in many interesting ways. We all know how inveterate is the tendency to repeat some act which is performed under the auspices of this department of the mind. In this way most of the habits are formed which go to make up our manners and our morals. Now, most players discover that if they strike a ball wrongly once, either by "topping" it, "slicing" it, or "pulling" it, they are extremely prone to fall into the same error over and over again. I remember seeing a man who was a fairly competent player, and who usually drove with force and accuracy, strike his ball from the tee into a pond just in front. He teed up a new one and tried again; this also went into the pond at almost exactly the same spot. With increasing exasperation he put down four more and apparently took infinite pains with his driving. They all splashed into the water within a radius of about three yards. This tendency to repeat any vice in method is so fully recognized by golfers that some players make a habit of at once changing their club when they have made a false stroke. Although the one they select may not be so well adapted for the immediate purpose, the slightly changed conditions enable them to escape the risk of repeating the failure.

It is a common experience also that on successive rounds upon the same links the mistakes of the first round are repeated. Thus, supposing a player "slices" his ball at the first tee, "tops" it at the second, and "skies" it at the third, he will be very likely to do exactly the same when making his second round. Apparently this is due to some miscalculation dependent partly

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upon the player and partly upon special external circumstances. Such a case is very similar to the experience of a schoolboy, who, on going over the same mathematical problem over and over again, makes precisely the same error at the same spot. Does not the fact that all the innumerable component acts of a faulty drive are thus reproduced, so as to place the ball twice in succession in almost the same spot, prove the astonishing precision of automatic psychic processes?

A good deal of instruction can be gathered from a careful study of the causes of "foozling." Probably an incorrect attitude on the part of the player is the most common, and it is easy to see how this will interfere with any attempt to adjust the various forces to be brought to bear upon the ball. Probably the most exasperating experience of the golfer is when he drives his ball into some awkward hazard which he is especially desirous of avoiding. This is often done over and over again during a single round, and the apparently malign perversity of the ball appears due to some diabolical agency. The explanation is, I think, somewhat as follows. In spite of his miraculous generalship over the muscular forces, our mechanical Von Moltke often shows himself ludicrously stupid. To do him justice I believe that he is always exceedingly anxious to carry out orders correctly, and is quite incapable of playing tricks with his superiors. If he acts in apparent disobedience to the wishes of the conscious *ego*, it is because he fails to understand his orders. When we direct our attention to some particular object, just at the moment when our forces are being marshalled for action there seems a great difficulty in making it clear to this inward agent whether this object is to be aimed at or avoided. Hence if some particularly awkward hazard in front occupies the attention of the player when "addressing his ball," although he may desire above all things to avoid it, his orders are misinterpreted by the zealous servant within, much as the words of King Henry III. regarding Thomas à Becket were misinterpreted by his knights. The very fact that the attention is directed toward any object is often sufficient to send the ball spinning in that direction, although the hazard was in reality looked at merely that it might be avoided.

I remember on the old links of the North Surrey Golf Club (a club, by the way, which has always been popular among the Americans resident in London) there was one short hole with cer-

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tain sheds and a cycle track just to the right of the course. Seeing that a ball "sliced" in this direction was almost certain to be lost, most players scrupulously endeavored to drive straight or even to "pull" slightly when playing from the tee. Here the objects to be avoided were so conspicuous and so ugly as almost perforce to occupy the attention at the very moment of driving. The result was that innumerable balls found a resting-place in the ground beyond the cycle track, and one seldom passed the spot without seeing some frugal-minded golfer groping among the rubbish and weeds in the hope of recovering his lost treasure.

When the golfer's soul is torn with discord after repeated failures of this kind, and one side of himself curses the other side for its confounded stupidity, one can understand the brow-beaten Mechanical Superintendent of Automatic Acts replying somewhat as follows: "But if you didn't wish me to direct the forces at my command so as to drive the ball in that particular direction, why in the world did you turn your attention thither just at the moment when I had everything prepared for action?"

It would be easy to show that this identical hitch in the nervous process of translating thought into action is responsible for much "foozling" and failure in other spheres besides that of golf. On making enquiries of various old stagers as to whether they were subject to this infirmity, and if so how they overcame it, I was told that such errors are best avoided by fixing the mind solely upon the object to be achieved at the moment of driving, to the exclusion of all else. Thus, supposing we were addressing our ball upon a tee with a yawning quarry in front, some trees to the left, and a water hazard to the right, but with a fair piece of the green within easy reach of an ordinary drive, the mind should be fixed upon this spot absolutely, and the perils to be passed should be studiously ignored.

Probably, many other points will occur to the minds of golfers, especially if they have but recently learned the game, which offer food for reflection to those who are curious about the working of that wonderful and intricate machine, the human nervous system. I have merely selected a few which seemed to throw a little light upon the nature of those semi-automatic actions which seem so simple at first sight, but which, when analyzed, astonish us with their wonderful complexity.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

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THE CENSUS OF 1900.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ELEVENTH CENSUS.

ONE of the first acts of Congress on convening in December should be the passage of a preliminary law for the purpose of putting in motion the machinery for taking the Twelfth Census. The work of preparation for a census such as that of the United States is as vast and important as the actual enumeration itself. The demand for exact statistics is constantly increasing, and the importance of greater accuracy and care in securing statistical data of all kinds would seem to indicate that as soon as the volumes of one census are published the preparatory work of another should commence. Under the present system it is impossible to keep the avenues of information open, and the skilled statisticians, experts, and trained clerks become scattered. Unless Congress acts immediately there is great danger of repeating mistakes and attempting costly experiments.

Those who have examined into the subject know that whatever the mistakes of the Tenth and Eleventh Censuses, they were the result of imperfect laws, and not the result of inefficient management. Those who for partisan or even more unworthy motives criticise the results of either of the last two enumerations of the population of the United States, seem to forget that the best available statistical talent in the country was employed. Of the thirty statistical experts in charge of the several branches of inquiry on the Eleventh Census, twenty-five were capable experts who performed similar work for the Tenth Census. Of the five or six new men brought into prominence by the Eleventh Census, one is to-day the statistician of the Agricultural Department, another is his first

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assistant, a third occupies one of the highest places in the Labor Department, a fourth is chief of an important division of the Geological Survey, and a fifth was called to occupy a place of great statistical responsibility in the Treasury Department. Every one of these experts, appointed by the alleged partisan management of the Eleventh Census, stepped from the Census Office into the several departments referred to during the last Democratic administration. Of the other men in charge of the several divisions of both Tenth and Eleventh Censuses, may be mentioned Dr. John S. Billings, now in charge of the Public Library of New York, and known throughout the world as the best authority in the United States on all matters appertaining to vital statistics; Henry Gannett, not less distinguished in geographical research, and geographer of the United States Geological Survey; Dr. Fred H. Wines, secretary of the State Board of Charities of Illinois, the recognized authority of the country on all questions relating to the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes; Dr. David T. Day, the well-known mining expert of the Geological Survey; S. N. D. North, of Boston, secretary of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, a statistical expert of wide experience and recognized ability; Professor Henry C. Adams, statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and a dozen other men whose names are not so well known publicly, but who in statistical circles have reputations for as thorough and as honest statistical work as any critic of either the Tenth or Eleventh Census. When, therefore, ungenerous critics are clamoring for an "honest census" for 1900, and an "accurate census" for the "last decade of the century," and thereby insinuating that the work heretofore was neither honest nor accurate, they overlook the fact that the superintendent or director of the Twelfth Census, if he performs his duty, must organize his office on precisely the same lines as his two immediate predecessors did, if he hopes to attain an equal degree of success. There was absolutely no partisanship, in the narrow spirit, about the Eleventh Census. It was organized from beginning to end, as such a great work should be organized, on the broadest possible plan, and the best known statisticians and experts were invited to take part in the work, irrespective of their political or economic faith. The Eleventh Census, however, needs no defence, for the twenty-five volumes

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speak for themselves, and they have been separately and collectively endorsed by those best qualified to pass judgment on such work. The methods of tabulation which were inaugurated in 1890 have been subsequently adopted by nearly all the principal European countries, and M. Troinitski, the eminent statistician of Russia, is using precisely the same system in the tabulation of the imperial census of that country. Indeed, the machines for the Russian census were made in the United States, and some of the identical devices used in the Eleventh Census are at this moment doing duty in St. Petersburg.

The defects of the Eleventh Census—and no one realizes them more keenly than the writer—did not arise from the direction of, nor could they have been remedied by, the capable corps of experts. They were, in fact, the result of delayed legislation, hasty preparation, and an overburdening of the office with inquiries irrelevant and unnecessary. In his testimony before the House Committee on Census, when the question of a permanent census office was under consideration, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in referring to the Eleventh Census, said :

"I believe the present census to be as good a one as any one could take under the present system. I know Mr. Porter has done as well as any one could have done under the faulty system."

The faults of the present system may be thus enumerated :

1. Inadequate time for preparation.

2. A hard and fast law rushed through the day before the adjournment of Congress, calling for innumerable statistical investigations and inquiries, many of which are useless and impracticable and some of which are impossible.

3. Supplemental questions for the twenty million or more schedules, called for by Congress ninety days prior to the actual enumeration.

4. Placing upon the shoulders of the superintendent, whose mind should be fully occupied with his experts in planning the work, the responsibility of the appointment of an office force of several thousand clerks.

If Congress in its wisdom will remedy these defects, there will be no trouble with the Twelfth Census, beyond those complaints which arise from too great local expectations in the way of population, and here and there defective enumerations necessarily incident to the employment of an army of sixty thousand persons. How can

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these defects best be remedied ? First, by making the census a permanent office of the government, and applying to it precisely the same rules and regulations as to the employment of clerical help as are in vogue in other departments. If this were done, special civil service examinations might be held for the work, prior to the time the clerks would be needed, and the Census Office would then have a sufficiently large eligible list to draw from. In 1890, I accepted civil service examinations of the higher grades, but that did not do away with the necessity of examining 2,700 clerks in the office ; and this, with the work of appointment, literally took up all the time of the superintendent, whose mind should have been free for his purely statistical duties.

The examinations of the Eleventh Census were fair and just, and conducted by a man whose partisanship was of so inoffensive a nature that he was retained through the Cleveland administration, while the Appointment Clerk of the Census Office—a Democrat, by the way—was promoted by the same administration, and still occupies a responsible government office. The clerical force thus gathered together proved most efficient, and the work accomplished greater in quantity and superior in quality to that of any other bureau of the government. It should be remembered that hundreds of these people were engaged in addressing envelopes, numbering cards by machinery, punching cards, working electrical machines, and in work that practically had to be learned after the clerk came into the office. As a matter of fact, some of the most expert of these men and women, "record breakers," as they were called, were those appointed as laborers, who were unable to pass the examination, but whose manual dexterity made up for inability to fill out technical examination blanks. There was a great deal more money lost to the government in consequence of insufficient time for planning the work and the inability to secure expert and well-trained division chiefs, than in consequence of the lack of ability of the clerical force. It will be better in my opinion, to draw the clerks for the Twelfth Census from the classified service, but chiefly because by so doing it will strengthen the faith of the public in the census. The examinations of the Eleventh Census were much stiffer than those of the Civil Service for the same grade clerks ; yet because they were left to the discretion of one man, they have been called a

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"debauch of the public service." And then again, why transform the Census Office at its busiest season into an examination department for clerks, and the director of a vast scientific investigation into a dispenser of political patronage? It is simply unjust to such an official. Having passed through the ordeal once, I am satisfied that the other way is more practical, and in the end will be better for all concerned.

It is not necessary to dwell on the advantages of a permanent census office, for the subject has been thoroughly investigated by both Committees of Congress.* In 1893 the House Committee on Census, after having the matter laid before them by the Superintendent of the Eleventh Census, and hearing the testimony of many experts, including the late Gen. Francis A. Walker, reported in favor of a permanent bureau, and submitted a bill for that purpose. It was shown in this inquiry that in all branches of census work, but especially in preparing for the important work of enumeration, great injury necessarily results, both as regards accuracy and economy, from the hurried and hastily considered methods incident to a system where sufficient time for careful and deliberate work is not given. A permanent census bureau would result in great economy as well as better work.

At least two millions of dollars can be saved by abolishing certain inquiries such as those relating to mortage indebtedness and those which can be more satisfactorily conducted by other departments of the government. Note the following:

	Estimated Cost Eleventh Census.
Farms, Homes and Mortgages	$1,500,000
Veterans of the War	100,000
Fish and Fisheries	150,000
Transportation	150,000
Insurance	75,000
Indians (condition of)	75,000
	$2,050,000

The first two of these inquiries will not be called for again. The Fish Commission is abundantly able to take care of the statistics of that industry. The Interstate Commerce Commission

* For arguments in favor of permanent census see Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1889; also Report of the Superintendent of Census, together with draft of a bill in response to Senate Resolution, February 16, 1891, Fifty-second Congress, first session, Ex. Doc. No. 1; also Report in favor of Permanent Census by House Committee on Eleventh Census, Fifty-second Congress, second session, Report No. 2393; also Report of Commissioner of Labor on plan for Permanent Census, December 8, 1896 Fifty-fourth Congress, Doc. No. 5; The Eleventh Census, by Robert P. Porter, an address delivered before the American Statistical Society, Boston, October 16, 1890. These documents contain the views of leading statisticians at home and abroad and cover all phases of the subject.

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gives all the statistical information the government requires on steam railways. The several States of the Union prepare annually elaborate reports in relation to insurance, and, aside from the bare enumeration, there is no necessity for the Census Office to make elaborate reports on the condition of the Indians. Yet the act of March 3, 1889, made all these inquiries mandatory upon the Superintendent of Census. For this reason, I believe the Superintendent should be appointed first by a preliminary act, and that he, in conjunction with certain experts, should frame a simple, practical bill, and submit it, with accompanying report setting forth in full the reasons for its adoption, to Congress. The measure which then became a law would be carried into effect by its originators, and not by a superintendent suddenly called upon to administer an act loaded with impracticable schemes for statistical inquiry, many entirely foreign to the census.

In conclusion, let us hope not only that the special inquiries will be limited in the Twelfth Census, but the schedules simplified and such investigations outside of population statistics as may be necessary taken out of the hands of the enumerators and given to the special agent.* The census of 1900 should be, first of all, a scientific and accurate count of the people of the United States. To accomplish this, it is absolutely necessary to discard such inquiries as I have indicated above and as far as practicable relegate the "special investigations" or inquiries that do not require a house-to-house canvass, to special agents. The schedules must be brief and simple, and not be burdened as heretofore—by act of Congress—with inquiries relating to individual indebtedness, chronic diseases, and other inquisitorial questions. In other words, if Congress expects an intelligent census it must not compel its director to chase all over the United States after mortgages on the one hand, and on the other to be chased morning, noon and night by applicants for office. Remove these obstacles to efficient work, give the bureau time enough to perfect its plans, and opportunity to secure division chiefs capable of training the office force, and the census of 1900 will be all that can be reasonably hoped for by the most exacting statistician.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

* For further information on this point together with samples of schedules, see an address on the Eleventh United States Census, by Robert P. Porter, Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vol. LVII., Part IV. (December, 1894).

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EDMUND BURKE AND HIS ABIDING INFLUENCE.

BY J. O'CONNOR POWER.

THE year which marks the centenary of the death of Edmund Burke finds his authority among political students higher, perhaps, than it ever stood before. In an age which was prolific of great statesmen he was pre-eminent as a statesman. The place which he occupied is sufficiently indicated by his contemporaries. Dr. Johnson said that Burke was "first in the House of Commons, because he was first everywhere," an opinion shared, I have no doubt, by all the members of the Literary Club—Sir Joshua Reynolds, Garrick, Goldsmith, and the rest. Mackintosh, in reference to a comparison between Burke and Gibbon, went so far as to say that the historian of the Roman Empire might have been "stolen out of a corner of Burke's mind without being missed." Wyndham referred to him as the man of all men then living whom he most revered. Fox's tribute to him has become classical. "If," said he, "all the political information I have learned from books, all which I have gained from science, and all which my knowledge of the world and its affairs has taught me, were put into one scale, and the improvement which I have derived from my right honorable friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, I should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference. I have learned more from my right honorable friend than from all the men with whom I ever conversed." Pitt's sense of his public services may be gathered from the handsome provision which he contemplated making for Burke's last years, and which included a peerage and a suitable pension; and Canning, in announcing his death, said it was "an event for the world." Testimony of this description might be multiplied; but if we had not a scrap of it, if Burke had wholly failed to gain the appreciation of his own age; if, on the con-

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trary, he had gone down to the grave under the curses and calumnies of those whom he loved and served—a fate which has more than once befallen geniuses misrepresented and misunderstood—the student needs only to make the acquaintance of his works to discover that he was the greatest of the political philosophers, and that the product of his massive intellect is an imperishable part of a great literature.

To complain that Burke is not more widely read would be as unreasonable as to complain that the readers of Shakespeare, or of Milton, or of Bacon, are not more numerous. The measure of the popularity of great authors, such as these, is the measure of the intellectual culture of the time. They will be most popular in whatever age the highest art, the largest knowledge, the ripest wisdom, and the broadest humanity, as embodied in literature, are most appreciated. Burke's themes are too great and his treatment of them too profound for the understanding of persons of limited views and narrow sympathies. Many, however, who do not read him pay him the homage of liberal quotation, and probably not a single day passes that the stores of his wisdom are not drawn upon by some writer or speaker, eager to appropriate his ideas if not always willing to acknowledge their source. The subjects upon which his mind was engaged can never lose their human interest, for they are bound up with the constitution of civil society, the mysteries of law and order, of religion and civilization, the struggles of liberty and authority, and the conflicts of rights and duties, embracing, in a word, the whole domain of social controversy, with all its tragic passion and wrestling aspiration. The mere enumeration of them enables one to realize the mental range of Burke, and his extraordinary power, which dazzled his own age, and which, after the lapse of a hundred years, provokes the wonder and admiration of posterity.

His influence on public affairs extended, in his own lifetime, to all parts of the British Empire, and to Europe, in the momentous period of the French Revolution. If we take note of the principles which he sought to enforce in Ireland, in America, and in India, we shall be able to form some idea of the character of his work as a Member of Parliament. With regard to Ireland: He had mastered all her problems, and his devotion to her interests cost him a distinction which he greatly prized—the representation of the ancient city of Bristol. On the national ques-

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tion Burke was opposed to separation, but in favor of legislative independence. He held that "a natural and cheerful alliance is a more secure link of connection than subordination borne with grudging and discontent." On the religious question he was on the side of equal civil rights for all denominations; and on the commercial question he was for free trade, which, in his time, meant the right of Ireland to trade with the colonies on the same footing as Great Britain, and to enjoy full reciprocity with Great Britain herself. It was in connection with the two last questions that Burke came into conflict with a section of his constituents. He had voted for the removal of restrictions on Irish trade, and for a slight modification of the disabling laws against Catholics. His vindication of himself before the electors of Bristol forms a noble episode in a noble career. I doubt whether Burke's moral grandeur was ever more conspicuous than it was in this hour of a glorious personal defeat. Not when he sought to maintain the rights of the American colonies against unjust taxation; nor when he denounced the corruption, cruelty, and tyranny of the East India Company; nor when, speaking as the oracle of Europe, he uttered prophetic warnings against the crimes of the French Revolution. Here are the words of dignity, power, and eloquence in which he concluded what proved, alas! a vain appeal to the constituency of that day:

"And now, gentlemen, on this serious day, when I come, as it were, to make up my account with you, let me take to myself some degree of honest pride on the nature of the charges that are against me. I do not here stand before you accused of venality or of neglect of duty. It is not said that in the long period of my service I have in a single instance sacrificed the slightest of your interests to my ambition or to my fortune. It is not alleged that, to gratify any anger or revenge of my own or of my party, I have had a share in wronging or oppressing any description of men or any one man in any description. No! the charges against me are all of one kind—that I have pushed the principles of general justice and benevolence too far; farther than a cautious policy would warrant, and farther than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident which may happen through life—in pain, in sorrow, in depression—I will call to mind this accusation and be comforted."

I do not suppose that Burke was troubled by the distracting claims of a dual allegiance—to England as the sphere of his duty, and to Ireland as the place of his birth. In this very Bristol speech he raises the point himself, and disposes of it effectually by declaring that he was an American in the affairs of America

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as much as he was an Irishman in the affairs of Ireland. We may infer from his sympathy with America and with India, that his devotion to Irish interests was the effect of his principles and not of his nationality. He would have voted, I believe, for the relief of Irish trade and the emancipation of the Catholics if he had not had a drop of Irish blood in his veins.

The electors of Bristol could not affect any surprise at the independent spirit of their member, for when he first solicited their suffrages, six years before, he had claimed the exercise of an independent judgment as an inalienable personal right. His colleague on that occasion opened the subject of the relations between a member of Parliament and his constituents, and declared that he should regard the instructions of the people of Bristol as binding. Burke, as Mr. John Morley observes, "upheld a manlier doctrine." The passage is indelibly engraved upon my memory, and I confess that I have never ceased to feel the influence it exercised upon me when I first read it many years ago, at the time of my own election to Parliament. Burke said :

> "It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him, their opinions high respect, their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions to theirs, and, above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living."

Burke, as he said of himself, "was not swaddled and rocked and dandled into a legislator," and his power to serve the commonwealth was inseparable from the independence to which his abilities entitled him, and which he so manfully claimed.

His speeches on America entitle their author to be regarded as the greatest of imperial statesmen. They are brimful of the highest maxims of good government and of the soundest rules of policy, and the whole history of the colonies since his time makes it as clear as the light of day that the separation of America was largely due to the rejection of his counsels, and to the proud and stupid obstinacy with which the dominant party in Great Britain sought to govern the expatriated of their own race on principles incompatible with freedom. Foresight is an unfail-

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ing characteristic of a true statesman, and surely no public man ever possessed that quality in a higher degree than Edmund Burke. It is astonishing, when we look back to-day, from the tranquil standpoint of a long retrospect, on all that occurred during the struggle with America, with what unerring precision he foretold the consequences of a mistaken policy. His foresight was justified not only in the general result, but in every particular. What, in one sentence, was the grievance of America? It was that she was taxed without her consent, by a Parliament in which she was not represented. What, in a word, was Burke's remedy? It was to allow the Americans to tax themselves, and to give or withhold supplies according to their own sense of their obligations to the empire. This was the old principle of the British Constitution, and which had been tried successfully in these very colonies. Burke protested against the Revenue Act of 1764, and the Stamp Act of the following year, as innovations upon the old practice of the Constitution. He showed that the right to determine the mode and character of supply was a central principle of British liberty. "On this point of taxes," he urged, "the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised; the greatest spirits have acted and suffered." He traced the descent of the colonists to show that they were hereditary lovers of freedom. He argued from their temper and character, from their history, religion and education, from the practice of their free local assemblies, that the colonists were "not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles;" and thence by an unbroken chain of reasoning, of illustration, of multiplied precedents and accumulated experience, he deduced the conclusion that, while they could be conciliated into loyalty, they could not be coerced into servitude. Lord North and Grenville and their majority, on the other hand, were simple enough to imagine that among British colonists British rule could survive the abrogation of the British Constitution. They persisted in treating the question of America as a question of constitutional law merely; Burke dealt with it as a great question of state policy, and the principles he laid down were not the less constitutional because they were more politic and practical and humane than those of the majority. "The question with me," he said, "is not whether you have a right to render your people

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miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do. I am not determining a point of law; I am restoring tranquillity, and the general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them." . . . "Nobody shall persuade me, when a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation." . . . "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." These are sentences which will outlast many constitutions, and, like so much of what Burke said, they bear the double character of being strictly applicable to the matter in hand, and also worthy to rank as permanent additions to the wisdom of politics.

The separation of the American colonies was a lesson which one would have thought could not be lost on the rulers of the empire, but the pride of domination survived even that disaster, and for a full half century afterward England continued in Canada, in another form, the experiment which had so disgracefully failed in the other American colonies. Canada, without constitutional government, was in rebellion when the Queen ascended the throne. It is now reputed to be one of the most loyal parts of the empire; and I shall not soon forget the effect produced by the present Prime Minister of the Dominion when, addressing a London audience composed mainly of Englishmen in this jubilee year, he declared, pointing to a flag which had waved over the Canadian rebels sixty years ago:—"We are loyal because we are free." When I heard that manly utterance I was reminded of Edmund Burke, and I could not help thinking that he had not lived in vain, nor help rejoicing that throughout the British empire his principles of colonial government universally prevail.

The mere thought of Burke's prolonged fight and herculean labors on behalf of the oppressed peoples and princes of India, is almost enough to strike a speaker dumb and to cause the pen that would portray them to drop from the hand. I confess that if I were asked suddenly, and without any previous warning, to describe my impression of Burke at this period of his splendid career, I should be unable to utter a word without a great effort. I should plead for time to adjust my memory and collect my ideas. Then, perhaps, the image of the great statesman, and his

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magnificent cause, would slowly rise before me. I should behold him at the outset of that gallant struggle, which he waged for twenty long years, devoting himself to the education of his party and the instruction of Great Britain ; entering, without rank or wealth or hereditary prestige—the three great instruments of political power in his day—upon a contest in which these were all arrayed against him, in order to bring relief to the unrepresented millions of a remote dependency. I should see him putting on the armor of truth and justice and humanity, to do battle with colossal oppression, and to overthrow a system which was supported by robbery, torture, and murder, and by crimes even worse than these.

During many years he champions the cause of India in the House of Commons, and is instrumental in carrying measures designed to mitigate, at least, the severity of her rulers. In that interval he has explored the annals of the nations of India back to the first glimmerings of the dawn of history. Their religions, superstitions, literatures, manners and customs, industrial and social conditions, have occupied his thoughts, and dwelt in his profoundest meditations. Again and again he appeals to Parliament to rescue India and save the honor of Great Britain, till at last the Commons resolve upon the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the foremost of the tyrants and oppressors whom he has arraigned. We follow him to Westminster Hall, and the Court of Britain's Peers, where, with Sheridan at his side, he opens the greatest trial of all time, before the most powerful of human tribunals. We take our seats in the old hall, and accompany him through every stage of an indictment which gradually unfolds the story of Hastings' crimes and India's degradation. We hear of a British Governor exercising not merely arbitrary power, but arbitrary power accompanied by the open encouragement of notorious criminals and the persecution of innocent men ; of widows and orphans, of princely families, suddenly robbed of their wealth, and obliged to beg the necessaries of life from the servants of their despoilers ; of women and children hunted and outraged by a licentious soldiery ; of whole nations being sold to the highest bidder, and resold over the heads of the recreant purchasers, to supply the coffers of a British company ; of treaties made only for purposes of deception and fraud, and we hear the tones of indignation in which the defender of

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afflicted peoples declares: "I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors; I impeach him in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, whose parliamentary trust he has abused, whose national character he has dishonored; I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate; I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured and oppressed in both sexes. And I impeach him in the name and by the virtue of those eternal laws of justice, which ought equally to pervade every age, rank, condition, and situation in the world." Then, remembering all that the orator has to contend with and all that depends upon the issue, we surrender our judgment, affections, and emotions to his absolute control, and feel that we are overwhelmed, not by speech alone, however eloquent and transcendent, but by the resistless moral force of heroic action.

Though Burke never attained high office, his abilities were so versatile as to qualify him for any post which a cabinet minister could fill. His practical wisdom was as conspicuous as his power of generalization. No one had a clearer comprehension or a firmer grasp of great principles of universal application; at the same time his policy in every department of English politics rested on a wide and solid basis of information and experience. He was steeped in the history of the past, yet penetrated through and through with the reality of the present, and ever and always mindful of that future in which the speculations and measures of the day were to be tested, and finally approved or condemned. His prodigious activity in public affairs sprang not from an intellectual source alone, nor from his imperial patriotism; it was constantly fed from an inexhaustible store of moral energy. He was animated by a detestation of all forms of oppression, whether by kings or governors, parliaments or peoples, which was in him a consuming passion, from which his noble nature could only obtain relief by denunciation of the oppressor and the destruction of his power. I cannot help thinking that Burke must have been stimulated, too, and sustained by delight in his studies and in his work. It is impossible, without counting this as an additional incentive, to understand the amazing industry which he devoted to the elucidation of all the great questions dealt with in his speeches and writings. How his method reproves the habit, too

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common in our day, as in other days, of debating subjects affecting the fate of millions of our fellow-creatures as if they could be disposed of by echoing the chatter of ignorance, or prejudice, or vanity, or self-interest. When we read Burke's speech on Fox's East India Bill we say, What a great pro-consul he would have made! When we read his speech on conciliation with America we feel that the greatest of colonial ministers was lost in him; and when we read his speech on Economical Reform we exclaim, Here is an ideal Chancellor of the Exchequer!

Let me dwell for a moment on the last-named of these, for it throws a vivid light on Burke's attitude towards popular government. The object of his plan of administrative or economical reform was to cut off the sources of corruption which sapped the independence of the House of Commons, by the abolition of certain offices, and the application of the emoluments connected with them to the public service. Burke did not believe in popular government such as, in this day of democratic suffrages, exists in all constitutionally governed countries. His idea of what good government required was not the enlargement of the constituencies but the purification of the representation. Doubtless, he was right at the time; but if the idea were to be laid down as a settled principle it would be necessary to point out that nothing is so fatal to corruption as publicity and discussion, and that wide franchise promotes both. I cannot believe that Burke would be satisfied with the doctrine that, in the sphere of government, everything should be done *for* the people, but nothing *by* the people. He had more faith, I apprehend, in the formative influence of self-government than such a doctrine implies. The doctrine is, nevertheless, one which in our own day has many able upholders, and I remember reading a speech of Charles Dickens's in which he announced it as the fruit of all his study and observation in politics. "Everything for the people" is at all events a sounder maxim than "everything for a class," or "everything for the rulers," and in its way it marks a stage in the progress of political science and social responsibility. It may be that Burke could no more conceive a perfect state with manhood suffrage, than Plato could conceive one without slavery.

In the *Reflections on the French Revolution* he advances and supports, by the authority of Aristotle, the dictum that neither

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an absolute democracy nor an absolute monarchy is a legitimate form of government. But in the same place he says wisely: "I reprobate no form of government merely upon abstract principles." The attempt made by the French, at the time of his writing, to establish a pure democracy on the Athenian model, he knew to be foredoomed to failure, and all theoretical constitution-making excited his contempt.

The most vulnerable part of Burke's work is undoubtedly his essay on the French Revolution. Students who read it for instruction should also read Sir James Mackintosh and Tom Paine on the other side, not forgetting, however, that Mackintosh called on Burke, when lapse of years had confirmed many of the views and predictions of the latter, to recant what he had written. I have never heard of Tom Paine's recanting anything on any subject. It is, perhaps, vain to hope that the time may come when the *Reflections* will cease to be criticised as a party pamphlet, loudly praised by one party and bitterly censured by the other. One can understand and forgive the violence with which it was assailed on its publication, and as Burke's own language degenerated into violence, it was natural that he should be answered after his own manner. But one-sided criticism of the essay seems to me to be out of place at the present day, and I think much of what Burke wrote would require to be eliminated altogether to make it a safe text-book for the out-and-out partisans of traditional authority. There is no want of power or of light in the *Reflections*, but it is often power without measure or restraint, and it is the light that dazzles, and not the light that makes things clear. We rise from the study of Burke's earlier work with the feeling that every argument he has used is justified by the strictest reasoning, by a logic which is absolutely unimpeachable. We feel that all his premises repose upon unquestionable facts; and if we are tempted at any time to suspect that his zeal is prompted by the interest of party, we are startled out of our distrust by some generous admission, some broad and manly sentiment or some bold and comprehensive generalization, which convinces us that the cause of the pleader and of truth are one. Our emotions are attuned to such noble feeling, our ears to such perfect utterance, and our judgment to appeals so fair and rational, that we are not prepared, when we take up the *Reflections*, to encounter the author in the *rôle* of an advocate,

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who strains every point in order to prove his case. That Burke sank to the level of an advocate in this essay is undoubtedly true, but a mighty advocate, nevertheless, whose meteoric eloquence roused the attention and excited the passionate interest of the civilized world.

If the partisans of absolute authority have no right to appropriate the work, the friends of constitutional liberty would be unwise in discarding it. Indeed it is, in large measure, a plea for constitutional liberty against tyranny in any form. Burke admitted a right of revolution in an oppressed people, and was himself the eulogist of the English revolution of 1688; but with him the methods and the circumstances were all important; and he condemned, for the same reasons, the Cromwellian revolution of 1641 and the French Revolution of 1789. While approving what took place in England in 1688, he stoutly champions the principle of hereditary succession on the ground that, although there was a "temporary deviation" from the strict order in the person of King William, "it is against all genuine principles of jurisprudence to draw a principle from a law made in a special case and regarding an individual person." He rejected the doctrine that the crown is held by divine right, while maintaining hereditary succession as based on law and custom and good policy. He upheld an inheritable crown and an inheritable peerage, but he also maintained equally the liberties of the Commons and the franchises of the people, as an "entailed inheritance" and an indissoluble part of the British Constitution, and to the defence of their liberties the most arduous labors of his life were devoted. "A disposition to preserve and a desire to improve" was his definition of statesmanship. And both by temperament and reflection he was a genuine reformer.

"Far am I from denying in theory," he said, "full as far is my heart from withholding in practice (if I were of the power to give or withhold), the real rights of men. In denying their false claims of right I do not mean to injure those which are real and are such as their pretended rights would totally destroy. If civil society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is only beneficence acting by rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to justice, as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in polite function or in ordinary occupation. They have a right to the fruits of their industry, and to the means of making their industry fruitful. They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring; to instruction in life, and to consolation in

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death. Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favor."

Because Burke broke away in the *Reflections* from the judicial self-restraint which usually characterized him we are apt to forget that, in that wonderful composition, he deviates again and again into his earlier and better manner, and rewards the persevering reader with passages of calm wisdom and solid, fruitful speculation. I have, I think, given an example of these in the passage I have just quoted, and a hundred such might be added. The truth is that although he allowed himself to be carried away by his sensibility, in contemplating some of the terrible incidents of the greatest event which has occurred in the secular history of man, he was swayed, in his main contention, by the convictions of a lifetime. The prudent student will not, therefore, put away that work, but examine it with even greater care than the others, in order to sift the gems from the dust in which they are imbedded, and thereby complete the measure of his acquisitions from the rich store which Edmund Burke has bequeathed to the literature of the world.

Burke's views of the French Revolution would have been greatly modified if he had taken his usual precaution to fully inform himself of all the essential facts before pronouncing judgment. That he had made inquiries, and had long pondered upon the condition of France, we have on his own assurance, and during his visit to that country in 1773 he foresaw the tendency of events which culminated in revolution sixteen years later. But not then, nor at any later period, did he realize that it was not the literary movement only that was undermining the old order, but also the intolerable sufferings of the tillers of the soil. In his defence of the French Monarchy he enters into an elaborate argument to show, by the increase which had taken place in the wealth and population of France, that the old government had not wholly failed in its duty. But the aggregate wealth of a nation and the growth of its population do not settle the question. These are quite consistent with grinding poverty among large masses of the people. To be satisfied that any nation is fairly prosperous, we want to know not only that the amount of the national income is considerable, but that the great body of

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the people enjoy their proper share of that income. Nor is a high rate of wages any criterion, for everything depends upon the purchasing power of money. And the surest test of material prosperity is the facility with which food, clothing, and shelter may be obtained. As Adam Smith—a contemporary of Burke's—justly says, "accumulation makes a people rich, but distribution makes them happy."

His last appearance in the House of Commons was on the 20th of June, 1794, when he replied to a vote of thanks passed by the House to himself and his fellow-managers of the impeachment of Hastings. He accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and retired from Parliament, where he had sat for twenty-nine years. The remaining three years of his life were spent at Beaconsfield, where he died on the 9th of July, 1797, and where he sleeps in an unnamed grave. The injunctions of his will prevented his interment in Westminster Abbey, a circumstance which serves to illustrate the dignified humility which was not the least conspicuous trait in his character. To intellectual qualities, the exercise of which has made his name immortal, he united great good nature, and a readiness to help others. He had a keen appreciation of homely joys, and cherished the family affections so tenderly that the death of his only son is said to have broken the spirit which thirty years of political strife had been unable to bend.

His performances as a statesman were so various and far-reaching, and their influence has been so wide and so continuous, that it is yet too soon to fully estimate their worth. He vindicated with a clearness and force never equalled the principles of civil and religious liberty in all parts of the empire. He manifested a profound reverence for the sanctity of the individual conscience, whether he was dealing with the members of his own church in England or the Catholics of Ireland, or the dissenters of America, or the Mohammedans and Hindoos of India. He asserted the liberties of the colonies. He annexed morality to politics, and held states and governments, equally with private persons, amenable to its dictates. In him the British Constitution has found its ablest interpreter, and he has rendered it the inestimable service of fixing the conditions on which alone it can be preserved. Irishmen especially have reason to be proud that their country has sent forth a man who was not only a great statesman himself but the teacher of great statesmen, and one whose re-

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corded word has, for more than a hundred years, been a fount of inspiration to those who succeeded him in the service of the state.

The average schoolboy may learn a lesson of hope from the circumstance that Burke was not distinguished at college. The serious student and the general reader will be interested to know his method of acquiring knowledge; and, fortunately, we have it described in his own words. He took up one subject at a time and stuck to it at a white heat till he was satisfied. That is, I believe, the only method for any one who reads not merely for the occupation of the moment, but in order to get to the heart of the matter and form a judgment upon it that will stand the test of adverse criticism. The literary aspirant will note that he was in the habit of writing by dictation, which is an easy and pleasant habit when it is thoroughly acquired. A man who is full of his subject, and who writes by dictation, ought to be able to compose three times as fast as one who wields his own pen.

His literary quality has been described by critics without number, and when one who is not a critic, but a plain reader, comes to consider it he is reminded of the varied, but not contradictory, estimates of Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Mackintosh, Brougham, Hazlitt, Dugald Stewart, Erskine, Jeffrey, Whately, Macaulay, Morley, and many others.

Passing by the critics and venturing, as an ordinary reader, to say how Burke's style affects me: My first impression of it is that of dignity tempered by familiarity; a stately march of phrases and sentences lightened by a certain harmonious ease, and combining the accuracy of the written with the freedom of the spoken word. One notes in it a wholesome disdain of that mere smartness which some writers mistake for originality, and, in its best examples, an absence of those affectations and conceits which not even the loftiest eloquence can make tolerable. Its robust directness and grave simplicity are its distinguishing features in one place, while in another it ascends to the realms of fancy without for a moment slackening its firm grip of the subject-matter. At its highest elevation, this noble prose exhibits a wealth of imagery, which the great poets might envy, and a power of illustration, dazzling in its brilliance, and in its fertility inexhaustible. Its effect is manifold; it refines the taste; it exalts the imagination; it edifies and stimulates the moral nature, and it enlarges, invigorates, and ennobles the understanding.

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The political writings rank with those of Aristotle among the ancients, and among the moderns with those of Montesquieu. To estimate their scientific superiority one has only to compare them with such merely clever productions as Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*; and they can be mentioned in the same breath with Machiavelli's *Prince* only for the purpose of contrasting their perfect morality with the sinister statecraft of the Italian author. It would not be correct to say that Burke's conception of politics was a struggle of opposing principles. That would be carrying the question into the region of the abstract, and of those metaphysical distinctions the very sound of which, he tells us, he hated. But it was undoubtedly a struggle of right and wrong, in the broadest acceptation of those terms—a struggle between what was right in essence and in form, in occasion, in circumstances, and in opportunity, and what was wrong, either because it was manifestly unjust or oppressive, or because it had neither past experience nor present conditions, nor the assured hope of improvement, to recommend it. Hence it is that Burke's work is free from personalities; and that although he well understood the value of party organization, and gave us the best defence of party that ever was written he would not make fidelity * to party the test of patriotism. There is always a number of people of considerable influence who regard politics as a struggle of personalities, and in no sense a struggle of rival principles. These persons may be easily singled out in any community, for their politics consist simply in abuse of political opponents. I could give a long list of distinguished men of the past, and some of the present day, who stand in this category. The list would contain party leaders by the score; not a few Prime Ministers, and, notwithstanding the virtue inherent in the popular vote, some elected Presidents of Republics! Now, Edmund Burke was not of this type. He was not only a great politician; he was a great man—a man for whom power had no attractions unless he was free to use it for the advancement of some cause in which he believed. Read the short, but eminently appropriate, inscription on his statue at Bristol and you have his character in a glance. It is composed in his own words: "I want to be a member of Parliament in order to take my share in doing good and resisting evil." Doubtless there were contemporaries of Burke's

* Concluding pages of *Thoughts on the Present Discontent.*

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who thought he had missed greatness by missing high office, and who plumed themselves on their good fortune in possessing the favor of the court, or of the Parliamentary majority, which was denied to him. Who thinks of them now when great principles of government have to be expounded, and the rights of nations to be saved? Their dim lights have gone down to rise no more, while the star of Burke shines with a pure and steady light above the horizon. It is due to Sheridan's candor and perception to remember that, although his exceptional gifts as an orator secured him a more attentive hearing in the House of Commons than Burke was able to command, he predicted that Burke's speeches would be quoted when his own were neglected or forgotten.

Among statesmen of our own day who have acknowledged their indebtedness to Burke are to be numbered Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. The acknowledgment made by the latter occurs in a speech delivered by him during the debates on the extension of the suffrage some thirty years ago. But, with or without acknowledgment, Burke's influence has been a constant, and is, I am convinced, an increasing force in British politics. His method and his very phraseology have entered into the proceedings and the speech of the statesmen of the present day. I do not suggest that this is to be attributed solely to the soundness of his political theory. It is, perhaps, due in part to the fact that he has left behind him, as Moore says in his *Life of Sheridan*, an armory of opinion from which both Whig and Tory may furnish themselves with weapons the most splendid that ever genius and eloquence have condescended to bequeath to party. The historical value of his work is, like its literary merit, indisputable. From no other speeches or writings can we so easily reconstruct the social and political life of the second half of the eighteenth century. The philosopher from whom his posterity daily seek instruction did not shirk the practical duties or fail to meet with an intrepid spirit the events of his own time.

J. O'Connor Power.

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ENGLAND'S ABSORPTION OF EGYPT.

BY HON. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD, LATE UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC AGENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL IN EGYPT.

THE Egyptian question is perennial. But American and English readers know only that side of it which British writers prepare for them. Egypt's side of the Egyptian question is but seldom stated in cold type. All opinion coming by way of England is so treated that the casual reader is led to believe that by some diplomatic arrangement, long forgotten by him, the ancient land of the Pharaohs had been severed from the Ottoman Empire and incorporated as an integral part of Queen Victoria's realm.

This is essentially what has been done, not by diplomatic arrangement, but by methods and devices sufficiently adroit to form a dangerous departure from recognized rules in the conduct of international affairs—the acquiring of territory and dominion therein by military "occupation." As a scheme of national expansion it has no parallel, and by reason of its audacity the acquisition of Egypt by Great Britain attracts the attention of readers and thinkers throughout the world.

The time-honored principle, teaching that territorial extension should be accomplished by discovery, conquest, treaty, or purchase, has been thrown to the winds by England. For years she has been familiarizing herself with the advantages of getting area by simple seizure and boundary dispute. These methods, direct, and at times defensible, do not carry an iota of the stigma attaching to acquisition by the specious process called "occupation," of which the British are the ablest exponents, if not the inventors.

In matters of international comity, it has long been supposed that the term "occupation" had a significance quite as unmis-

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takable as "annexation" and "protection." "Protectorate" is the name fitting present conditions in Egypt, with acknowledged dominion to follow, if the English have their way.

It is nearly sixteen years, it will be remembered, since the revolt in Egypt, which led to the sending of a military and naval force by England to suppress Arabi Pasha and his followers, who had arrogated to themselves the government of the country. The Khedivial authority was trodden under foot, and the Khedive was a prisoner in one of his palaces, the Egyptian army having sworn fealty to the fanatical Arabi. Riot and rapine were rampant, and the situation was critical.

Then came the massacre of Europeans in Alexandria, and the subsequent bombardment, in which the French declined to take part; and consequently, in 1883, the dual control of Egyptian finances by England and France came to an end. Since that time, Egypt has been in everything but name a dependency of England, the French in the meantime trying to recover their share in its control. They have more than once asked the Sultan, the actual suzerain of Egypt, to order the English from the country, and for many years they have doggedly obstructed Great Britain's administration of affairs.

The Gladstonian government, which sent the troops and ships to Egypt, asserted that British intervention was to be made solely in the interests of humanity, and for the purpose of restoring the authority of the Khedive. These pledges were accepted in Europe in good faith.

A few hours before opening the bombardment of Alexandria, the commander of the British fleet said, in a formal communication to the Khedive:

"I deem it opportune to reaffirm to Your Highness that the government of Great Britain has no intention to effect the conquest of Egypt, nor to interfere in any way with the liberties or religion of the Egyptians; its sole object is to protect Your Highness and the Egyptian people from the rebels."

Admiral Seymour must have spoken with the authority of his government in this momentous matter, as did General Wolseley, who led the campaign on shore, when, to hasten the restoration of law and order, after the rebellion had been crushed, he said in a proclamation to the people of Egypt:

"The government of Her Majesty has sent troops into Egypt with the sole object of re-establishing the Khedive's authority."

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Even that able diplomatist, Lord Dufferin, then ambassador to the Sultan, formally announced, over his signature, that England, by her interference in Egypt, was

> " . . . Seeking no territorial advantage, nor the acquisition of any exclusive privilege, nor any commercial advantage for her subjects which cannot be obtained equally for the subjects of any other nation."

The revolt, being a half-hearted affair, was quickly suppressed. Arabi Pasha was tried in Cairo for treason, found guilty, and sentenced to death. His campaign cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians" in a way stamping him as a patriot, and the people enrolled under his banner having some show of reason for their objection to the frequent interference of foreign powers, Arabi's sentence was promptly modified to banishment for life.

English influence was responsible for the commutation of the sentence, and Great Britain, which takes upon itself the task of policing the world, sent Arabi and his chief supporters into exile in British territory, for a crime in no sense committed against England. For usurping the Khedivial prerogative—which, plainly stated, is the right to direct the administration of Egypt —Arabi was guilty of an offence punishable by death or deportation.

The British government announced, after the crushing of Arabi, that its "army of occupation" would be withdrawn as soon as law and order could be restored, and a date was actually fixed for the departure of the troops. Her philanthropic task not being completed, in her opinion, at the end of the six months, an extension of time for another six months was made. At all events, the occupation was only to last for the brief period necessary to teach the Egyptians the easy art of self-government.

But the soldiers have never left Egypt, and have been there nearly sixteen years. When pressed for a reason why the reins of government are not restored to the Khedive, and the farce of "occupation" terminated, most Englishmen will say it is because evidence is wanting that a stable administration of the country can be had without British aid. Many other reasons are given in justification; but it is only when discussing the situation with each other that they are honest enough to admit that they have no intention of ever quitting the Nile country.

Thus the word "occupation" promises for many years to be applied to a wholesale operation in territorial expansion, entered

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upon in the name of humanity; and the right of ruling Egypt, taken from the Khedive by Arabi the rebel, and wrested from him by Great Britain, will probably never again fully reside in the family of Mehemet Ali. Military occupation, indefinitely extended, as illustrated in Egypt, amounts to annexation, except for the saving clause of a shambling pretence of upholding the Khedive.

There is now and then a spasmodic demand in the British Isles that England's hands be lifted from Egypt; that the Tory policy of grab be reversed. Mr. Gladstone declares that Britain has no right to remain in Egypt, and politicians of the Dilke, Harcourt, Courtney, Labouchere and Marriott type frequently raise their voices in condemnation of a continuance of British rule in Egypt. These men only talk when their party in Parliament is in the minority, however; should one of them find himself a member of the government he would in all probability be as silent on the subject of the evacuation as the Sphinx itself.

Englishmen make a point of recalling that the Sultan declined to send troops to quell the Alexandrian disorders in 1882, and likewise love to point to Tunis, and assert that France is doing with that country exactly what the British are doing with Egypt. Her Egyptian policy has brought more censure upon England, perhaps, than any other movement in her external affairs during the century. By it the inherent dislike of France for England has been provoked to open hatred, and every nation in Europe has an illustration at hand whenever wishing to prove British bad faith.

Does England sufficiently profit from her retention of Egypt to warrant this defiance of public opinion, and the open hostility of such powers as France and Russia?

Great Britain has well-nigh made an English lake of the Mediterranean; the outlet of this lake, the Suez Canal, is the key to the whole scheme of British rule in India and the East. To control the canal, by force of arms if necessary, is the predominant reason why England remains in Egypt. It serves her purpose to have 4,500 British soldiers within a few hours' journey of the great international waterway, and a British guardship at either terminus of it. Without the absolute control of this connecting link between Occident and Orient, thirty-six million people in Great Britain could not expect long to hold in subjection four hundred millions in India, and to govern a quarter of the globe.

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Monetary considerations have as much weight with an Englishman as with another. As perhaps half of Egypt's bonded debt was held in England when the occupation began, the gradual appreciation of the value of Egyptian securities has seemed to Britishers another justification for continuing their sojourn in Egypt. When they went there Egyptian credit was as low as it well could be, for Khedive Ismail had played fast and loose with national solvency from his accession to the day on which he was deposed.

English people owned bonds to the face value of $275,000,000 in 1882, it is estimated, and these could not have been sold then for more than half that sum. "Egyptians" are now quoted at a premium of from three to six per cent., and the difference between *the estimated value in 1882, and the value to-day, of England's* supposed financial stake in Egypt, is the comfortable sum of $140,000,000—sufficient to pay for the army of occupation for more than a century! This restoration of Egyptian credit has benefited all bondholders equally—French, German, Italian, Austrian and Russian, as well as English.

An incidental reason why Great Britain retains her hold upon Egypt is that the cotton crop of the Nile valley reduces more and more each year the dependence of British spindles upon the cotton-fields of the United States.

There are also several considerations of minor importance which have influenced the Egyptian policy of England. The conquest of the vast region lying south of Nubia can better be prosecuted from the north than from any other point; and geographers are agreed that whoever controls Equatorial Africa and the sources of the Nile becomes the natural holder of Egypt. Further, without Egypt firmly in hand, the ambition of British map-makers for a zone of territory stretching continuously from the Cape to Cairo, and bringing more than half the African continent under British influence, must of necessity be abandoned.

Are the people of Egypt materially benefited by English rule?

Unquestionably they are. Unpopular as it is with nearly every class in Egypt, and condemned throughout Europe, the occupation has done vast good. No fair investigator can witness the present condition of the Egyptian fellaheen, knowing what it was before the advent of the English, without conceding this. For half a dozen years Egypt has fairly bristled with prosperity.

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The story of that country's emergence from practical bankruptcy, until its securities are quoted nearly as high as English consols, reads like a romance; and there is no better example of economical progress, through administrative reform, than is presented by Egypt under British rule.

Security is assured to person and property; slavery has been legally abolished; official corruption is almost unknown; forced labor for public works is no longer permitted, and native courts have now more than a semblance of justice. Hygienic matters have been so carefully looked after that the population has increased from seven to nine millions in a decade or more. Land taxes have been lowered and equalized, and are systematically collected, and scientific irrigation is so generally employed that the cultivable area has been considerably extended. Egypt was probably never so prosperous as at the present time.

The debt is being slightly reduced, and will be made less burdensome as time goes on, by the increased productiveness of the soil. Taking the present population at nine millions, the *per capita* debt of the Egyptians is close upon $60. When it is borne in mind that the population is almost entirely agricultural, with whom the wage standard is about fifteen cents a day, it will be seen that the Nile fellah is mortgaged for generations to come, and the mortgage is held by European money-lenders who have no real interest either in him or his religion.

The present external debt is approximately $508,000,000, and it is a popular error that it has been reduced since the coming of the English. On the contrary, it has been increased by $40,000,000. This went to indemnify Alexandrians whose property had been destroyed at the time of the rebellion and bombardment, to defray the cost of the military campaign thirteen or fourteen years ago which resulted in the loss of the Soudan, and for certain public works deemed imperatively necessary.

By her management of affairs England has, nevertheless, so improved the conditions in Egypt that European bondholders have been satisfied to have the interest on their securities reduced from seven to three and a half and four per cent.

England possesses a capacity for conducting colonies, and rehabilitating exhausted countries, which amounts to genius. Overbearing and arrogant as the British functionary out of England often appears, he must be scrupulously honest and capable

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to find a place in the perfectly organized machinery guided from London. Frenchmen say that Egypt's restoration to easy prosperity could have been better accomplished by them, and they allege that this prosperity is more apparent than real, charging that much is neglected in the desire to make a favorable showing in the yearly balance-sheet. But investigation of what France does with her own dependencies, nearly every one of which is administered at a loss, gives support to the belief that Egypt is better off under British guidance than she could be under that of France. No alien power could have done better in Egypt than Great Britain has. But readers who have that inherent respect for right which Americans possess may see scant justification for Britain's absorption of Egypt merely in her ability to do good work there.

Is England educating the Egyptians to govern themselves?

Emphatically not!

The occupation was begun in good faith, no doubt, but the British had not long weathered the first outburst of indignation over the non-fulfilment of their promise to evacuate (ingeniously addressed to no specific government or personage), when they began to trim their sails for a protracted, if not permanent, stay in Egypt. They would as soon think of giving Gibraltar back to the Spaniards as of restoring Egypt to the Egyptians, one being as necessary as the other to British aggrandizement in the East. England's desire to remain could not be better served than by making her functionaries appear essential to the well-being of Egypt; in fact, by making progress dependent upon her administrators, accountants, and irrigation experts. This she has done, and the "understudies" of these clever servants, those who could best take their places, are Englishmen. There are many hundreds of native subordinates doing the simplest routine work, who perceive the splendid results, but contribute thereto chiefly by their submissiveness. They are not being instructed sufficiently to keep Egypt from retrogressing should they find themselves in charge of affairs.

The Khedive is compelled to yield to England in choosing a ministry, even. This results in his having a partisan cabinet—made in London—about him, whose counsels must necessarily be acceptable to the British. On occasions when the Khedive has selected a minister without first securing the consent of England,

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he has been promptly called to account, and menaced by a display of power in the streets of his capital by thousands of British guns and bayonets, which has not been abated until the office had been filled by an Egyptian practically named by the British government.

Obviously, this system renders any ministry a time-serving body, and it is a depressing picture of personal effacement which is presented by an Egyptian statesman in these days who must play the dual *rôle* of being loyal at once to his "Effendina," and to the foreign nation absorbing his country. Some of the ablest men in Egypt are kept in private life by their unwillingness to acquiesce in these conditions.

The real business of important executive departments in Cairo is directed by the under-secretaries (assistant ministers), who are English, and their utterances and plans formally receive the sanction of their Egyptian chiefs. The native minister is the visible and signatory power, but the creative and actual force is the English assistant. Everything financial is dictated by an "adviser," as is nearly everything judicial, and the "advisers" are British. Similarly, the ministry of the interior, presided over by the educated and capable Egyptian Premier, is also directed by an "adviser," translated from a very subordinate position in the British diplomatic service to this department dealing with all questions concerning the internal policy of the oldest nation in the world.

Each year sees an augmentation of the number of Britishers on the pay-roll. It is true that one Englishman can perform the work of two native clerks, but he gets the pay that would go to three. All foreigners are lavishly paid, wholly from the Egyptian exchequer. The salary of an "adviser" is about $10,000 a year, and under-secretaries receive $7,500.

Sixteen years is a considerable lapse of time anywhere; in the East, where people mature early, it represents a generation. Those who were children in the year of the bombardment are now in the prime of their faculties, and England has had ample time to fit them for fair administrative work.

Uninfluenced by political motive, the schools of the American Presbyterian Mission have done a hundred-fold more for the cause of education in Egypt than has Great Britain. These schools, distributed throughout the country, are yearly elevating

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hundreds of youths to a better condition, teaching them in particular the value of order and system.

Since England does but little to develop a class that may in time take the positions now filled by her own countrymen, Anglophobe critics point to that fact as confirmatory evidence of the insincerity of the statement that England ever intends the Egyptians to resume the helm of state.

An apparent failure has been the omission to introduce the English-language into general use. Egypt is a polyglot country, and the incorporation of English as an "official language" might with propriety have followed the introduction of the present system of affairs. French, consequently, remains the only European language known to any extent by the educated natives; and where there is one Egyptian who knows English, forty who read and write French are to be found. Only one of the Khedive's ministers knows English, yet all six are proficient in French.

The official language of the government has been French for many years. Official publications and correspondence are in French. It is the European language of the railways and postal department. Postage stamps, railway tickets and telegraph forms, actually printed in England, express their values and conditions in French and Arabic. English employees in governmental bureaus write officially to each other in French, frequently to the confusion of the ideas intended to be expressed. An entire department, having charge of museums and the conservation of antiquities, and employing thousands of natives, is exclusively French in administration, although supported in great measure by English-speaking visitors. So long as the European language of the Egyptian official remains French, his mode of thought and action will be French also.

In Cairo and Alexandria ten or more newspapers are printed in the French language, purveying opinion bitterly hostile to the occupation. One of these, published at the capital, prints daily in displayed type a list of Great Britain's broken pledges in connection with the occupation, quoting from Blue Books and like documents such extracts as appear to prove its case. Only one English journal is published, and that is forced to print its news and editorials in French as well as English to secure remunerative publication.

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All the journals printed in French are antagonistic to British rule, and being regarded by thousands as oracles, their influence is far-reaching. From their columns European opinion favorable to the anti-English cause is translated into Arabic by native journalists, and finds currency in the native papers penetrating to every village. Public measures are acrimoniously reviewed and made to appear to the native reader as added evils, and any reform introduced by England can have its merits so distorted as to be always regarded as absurd or tyrannical. This is a conspicuous reason why England's work in Egypt has never been effective with the masses.

Last May, 256 students from governmental schools presented themselves in Cairo for examination, prior to receiving diplomas. Each had to undergo examination in an European language, chosen with a view to best equipping himself for a career of usefulness. Although the British had long dominated their country, and with indications wanting that they will ever retire, only 55 of these students had acquired English; all the others, 78 per cent. of the whole, had learned French. From the time of Mehemet Ali, the sympathies of the people of Egypt have been essentially French. It has long been the policy of the French government to encourage Egyptian youths to enter their educational establishments; the matter of compensation has ever been a nominal consideration.

English has never been made an official language of the International Courts of Egypt; yet advocates can plead therein, in Italian, the principles of the Code Napoleon. Every young Egyptian aspiring to the profession of law qualifies therefor at the Cairo School of Law, maintained by the French government, and takes his degree in France. All these conditions, by which France is hourly in evidence, to the almost total effacement of England, contribute to the opinion, concrete in the minds of the natives, that the British occupation is meretricious and insincere. British trade follows the British flag—but British opinion never follows the French language.

The administrative blunder of the English in not bringing in their language with their intelligent reforms, is half responsible for the unpopularity of the occupation, whose benefits would surely be obliterated and forgotten six months after the departure of the last British functionary. This is one of the

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best reasons given by Englishmen why the occupation should not be terminated, and any member of the so-called National Party in Egypt, if asked for his opinion, would assert that the omission to introduce the English language into his country was a triumph of statecraft, and not a blunder thereof. "Having no intention of going, the Britishers want an excuse, even a lame one, for remaining, and the influence of the Anglophobe press, which they purposely refrain from counteracting, creates one," the Nationalist would say. Travelers have long known that it was a part of Britain's policy in India to allow native discontent to vent itself through the local press. It relieves the Indian grumbler, and doesn't hurt the English official.

Will England ever be compelled to quit Egypt?

If the British persist in clinging to the theory of effective possession constituting a title, it may be assumed that they will never voluntarily relax their hold upon Egypt; it is more probable, even, that they would fight to retain it. England has withstood the sneers and opposition of France, and fears nothing from that country alone. Germany, while regarding England's methods in Egypt as forming a dangerous precedent, has not enough at stake to initiate any campaign in connection therewith. Italy is in spirit England's ally in more than one African enterprise; and Austria, the Sultan's nearest neighbor, chooses to keep her hands free from the Egyptian imbroglio from politic motives.

When the alliance between France and Russia was mooted, the quidnuncs of Paris saw in it an immediate prospect of forcing Britain out of Egypt—this was to be France's greatest gain. But a sentimental and showy friendship between two nations—and this probably is all that binds France and Russia—is insufficient in these times to cause the stronger to take up arms for the sake of accomplishing a cherished desire of the other.

When Russia chooses to use an active hand in Egyptian affairs, it will be as a principal; and it is from the Muscovite only that England stands in any fear of having force—or diplomacy backed by force—aimed at the evacuation of the Nile country. Russia's diplomacy for three years has been as triumphant throughout the far East and Asia Minor as it has been in Constantinople; while that of Great Britain has been worse than impotent. It will never be forgotten that it was England

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who inspired the Armenians with those hopes which led to the terrible massacres, and that England abandoned them to their fate. The Czar aims at becoming the dictator of things Asiatic, possibly omitting India for the present. By brilliant diplomacy Russia acquired nearly all the increment of benefit going to Japan as a result of Japan's victory over China, and her influence over Korea is well-nigh paramount, as it is also in Persia. If the Russians decide that the great transcontinental railway to Vladivostock is not going to secure to them the hoped-for control of Eastern matters, they may have something to say to England in connection with that country's ingenious policing of the Suez Canal. Russia has various means of reaching the East, it is true. But no route can offer a fraction of the advantages—commercial, political, or strategic—of the Suez Canal. That must be the favorite avenue to the East.

Were Russia to conclude that the presence in Egypt of a British armed force was inimical to her own ambition for Eastern dominion, and spoke as sharply as did the President of the United States in the Venezuelan affair, England might reluctantly readjust her foreign scheme sufficiently to allow her redcoats to leave Egypt and the Canal. It goes without saying that France would co-operate in any movement looking to the dislodgement of *perfide Albion*.

The masterly victory of Turkish troops in the recent Greek war was a blow to Englishmen who believed that the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was near at hand. They had already experienced a check when the Armenian disorders failed to shake the Sultan's throne, and the result of the Greco-Turkish war caused a painful awakening as to the health of the "Sick Man of Europe." A break-up of the Sultan's empire may come in time, and Egypt fall to England in the general parcelling-out of Turkish possessions. But the "Sick Man" is convalescing so rapidly, and is so watchful on the Bosphorus, that the scramble for Ottoman territory may be postponed for many years.

Is Egypt capable of self-government?

The candor prompting one who has made a long and disinterested study of Egyptian matters in the country itself to say that England has performed her self-appointed task in Egypt better than any other nation could, likewise compels one to state that Egypt is not capable of complete self-government at the present

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time, for she has no class of officials trained in the higher ranges of administrative work. Certainly no other nation should ever be permitted to supplant the English as administrators or "occupiers" of Egypt.

The Khedive, far from being the stubborn and unruly youth that British newspapers are prone to represent him, is competent to guide an enlightened policy in carrying on the affairs of his country, without any European intervention. He would have at his command a group of progressive assistants like Tigrane, Boutros, Fakhry, Cherif, and Yakoub Artin, each qualified to render excellent service as an independent minister. As in times prior to the coming of the British, the Khedivial government could employ technical assistants of any nationality it chose. American military officers, before England's assumption of power, gave Egypt as good an army as it ever had. British or other engineers, having services to sell, should be as willing to labor for Egypt under a self-governing administration, as they are under a *régime* upheld by British soldiers. In this way, perhaps, good government by the Khedive might take the place of that now furnished by England, and the "running shriek of denunciation" of the army of occupation be silenced.

Egypt might, and might not, prosper under these changed conditions. But there is little likelihood of her being permitted to try the experiment, and "Egypt for the Egyptians" must remain, in all probability, a sentimental illusion.

The Khedive has the undoubted right to govern his country, at least until it is demonstrated that he is incapable, or until his inheritance has been acquired by purchase or other arrangement based upon equity and honesty.

It is no reckless hazard, however, to predict that a dozen years hence all that portion of the Nile Valley extending from the Mediterranean to Khartoum will be British soil. If so, Arabi Pasha should be liberated from his exile in Ceylon, and hailed as one of the makers of England's proud empire.

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

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THE DREAM OF NAVIGATORS.

BY CAPTAIN A. S. CROWNINSHIELD, U. S. N.

LET any interested person take an atlas, open the covers at the page entitled "North and South America," and, as a reminder of his school days, trace with his finger the route which a ship must follow to pass from any one of our Atlantic or Gulf seaports to reach any one of the harbors of the Pacific within the boundary of the United States. As he follows her lonely course let him try to realize the enormous distance which this ship must travel, the wild waste of waters over which she must pass. Let him note the inhospitable point of land designated upon the map as Cape Horn, apparently so near, in reality so many thousand miles distant; so familiar by name and in locality to every school boy and girl, so utterly unknown, except to those unfortunates who have weathered its icy promontory, and have safely withstood the bitter fierceness of its Antarctic gales. Now let our enquirer retrace his imaginary course and turn his attention to another easily possible route between our Atlantic and Gulf ports and those upon the western shore of our continent—the route by Central America—and he will perceive at a glance the enormous saving in distance of the proposed Isthmian waterway over the old, time-worn, life-destroying and wealth-devouring track.

To those who have been waiting for the arousing of public interest in this great project, it seems as if the time had at last arrived when thinking men as well as many who are not of a serious turn of mind, admit the imperative necessity of a highway of rapid transit between the two great oceans which all but encircle our continent.

The developments of the past few months have caused our thinkers to think yet more profoundly, and they begin to realize

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that until there is a way, easy of access, from each of these oceans to the other, should certain contingencies arise, as a nation we are helpless. Supine is a strong word, but it seems the one best fitted to characterize the state of inaction and apathy which has been our condition as a nation during the unprogressive years that are past.

We Americans pride ourselves upon the rapid development of our country, upon its great trade and commerce, which have arisen from its wonderful resources through the activity and business qualities of our people. But there is a country whose development has been much more rapid than ours—a country which remained for untold centuries isolated from the rest of the world, but which, within the past few years—mainly through our aid and example, it is true—has burst the web of ignorance and inactivity which bound it, and emerges to-day before the eyes of the world as a civilized nation, making quick progress in all that proves a people strong. Suddenly, therefore, we are brought to face the fact that a new power has arisen in the Pacific, that Japan is already claiming imaginary rights within the Hawaiian Islands, islands civilized and peopled by those of our own blood, whose intelligent citizens speak our mother tongue, and we realize on the instant that here is a power with which we must reckon in the settlement of serious questions.

Japan was formerly looked upon as a far-distant country, composed of a group of islands inhabited by an interesting people, having no political relations with the western world. Presto! and all is changed. With new rulers, a new and liberal government, a desire to expand, followed by the adoption of western methods, railroads, steamships, with a foreign commerce, an army, and, what particularly concerns us, a modern navy, she appears at our doors as a power demanding recognition.

It is true that Japan is several thousand miles from our western coast, that the whole width of the Pacific Ocean lies between us, but the Pacific Ocean is a highway open to everyone, and out into the Pacific Japan must go, if she is to expand at all. To her west and north she is barred, for Russia and England will not permit her a lodgement upon the Asiatic Continent. In taking the island of Formosa she has already gone south, and her action regarding Hawaii has brought her east. Hawaii is thirty-four hundred miles from Japan, but there are

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now twenty thousand of the Mikado's subjects settled in Hawaii, and the interest of Japan in the status of these people is so great that it has caused her to protest vigorously against the suggestion of the annexation of these islands to the United States.

In thus recognizing the necessity of possessing a powerful fleet of war vessels as a factor in defence or aggression, her statesmen, themselves apt students of history, have read to us a lesson which we might well commit to memory and to practice.

Beyond Japan, a few hundred miles to the west, lies the Chinese Empire, with its *four hundred millions* of people! While Japan has advanced China has remained dormant. But will this continue? Given new rulers, a new form of government, and the adoption of Western ideas, and China will throw off its yoke of conservatism, and then our Pacific States will be confronted with a second Asiatic power many times greater than Japan.

With these possibilities to be considered it behooves this country to make itself strong where it is now weak; in other words, it should be our first effort to develop our Pacific Coast States.

Let us glance for a moment at the effect of an Isthmian Canal upon this development.

The moment that a waterway is opened across Central America, the producers of our Pacific States will be brought eight thousand miles nearer to a market! It is a well-known law of trade that nearness to a market will stimulate production. The enormous grain products of California and Oregon are now taken to Europe round Cape Horn in sailing vessels, a long voyage of one hundred and thirty days, which the canal would at once reduce to fifty days! What other argument than this statement is required to show the importance of the canal as a factor in developing our Pacific Coast States? The opposition of the trans-continental railroads to the construction of the canal is based upon the fallacy that its existence will operate to their injury. This is a fear without foundation. On the contrary, the canal will be of benefit to those roads, for whatever tends to increase the population of our Pacific Coast and develop its resources, as the canal will surely do, must necessarily help the railroads, which have never been able to carry any of the grain and lumber products from California, Oregon, and Washington to an Atlantic port.

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Grain and lumber, the reader must understand, have not a value in proportion to their weight, which will allow their transport by rail across the continent to an Atlantic port, where they must go on their way to a Europeon market. For years past there have been exported annually from California and Oregon nearly a million tons of wheat, every bushel of which has gone around Cape Horn! All grain exported from California is at present taken to the Pacific port of shipment by the railroads. Through the existence of the canal there will undoubtedly be an increase in the quantity exported; in other words, there will be more for the railroads to carry to the shipping point. Add to this the increase in the population of the Pacific States soon to follow the completion of the canal, and it is difficult to understand why the construction of the canal should be opposed by those who control these railroads. Such opposition is unreasonable to a degree, and is entitled to little consideration when we recognize the enormous benefits that must accrue to the United States through the completing of a waterway that will connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean.

This projected waterway will also induce immigration, and thus develop that section of our country far more than it has ever been developed by the transcontinental railways.

It is well known that our Pacific Coast States possess many features that usually attract immigration. Notwithstanding this fact, they have not increased in population as rapidly as many of the Northwestern States, and not at all in proportion to their great area. The European emigrant before coming to America may have heard of California, with its attractive climate and its diversified products, but landing at an Atlantic seaport, he finds a suitable resting place long before he can reach his Mecca; for between our Eastern and Western shores lie numberless large and attractive cities, teeming with busy life and innumerable industries; many snug farms and homelike villages, in some one of which our immigrant knows that he will find a friend from his mother country. As the overflowing train speeds on its way across the wide continent, it loses a passenger at this town, another at that hamlet, so that when its ultimate destination is reached, it gives up less than one per cent. of the number which started with it from the Atlantic seaboard.

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Should our immigrant set sail in a vessel, bound by way of the Isthmian Canal for California, he reaches the goal of his hopes without temptation to disembark *en route*. The ship which conveyed him to his future home, having discharged him and hundreds of his kind at her port of entry, fills up with a part of the grain and lumber awaiting shipment, and with little delay returns over the same quick and practicable route to deliver her cargo at a welcoming foreign market.

As a political factor in increasing the influence and power of this country in the Pacific, the canal will be far-reaching. To-day, if the United States were forced into a war with Japan over possession of the Hawaiian Islands, which to her are stepping stones to our continent, we should be placed at a great disadvantage; for it is a fact that at this moment Japan's naval force is greater than our own Pacific and Asiatic squadrons combined. To reinforce our Pacific fleet, we should be obliged to send ships from our Atlantic Squadron, forcing them to make a voyage of twelve thousand miles, thus consuming many weeks, whereas, with the canal in existence, our powerful North Atlantic Squadron could be *put into the Pacific within a week!* Thus would the canal enable us to more than double our naval strength in the Pacific.

From every point of view, whether political or commercial, it is plain that the Nicaragua Canal is a necessity to the United States. It will build up our Pacific Coast States, as they *must* be built up, if we are to properly face the Orient. It will add immeasurably to our naval power, and it will increase our influence not only far out into the Pacific Ocean, over the islands and waters of that vast region, but also over the Caribbean Sea and adjacent waters.

Commission after commission has reported favorably as to the feasibility of the Nicaragua Canal. Exhaustive surveys by our government, as well as by private companies, have been made, all showing that this route is not only practicable, but that it possesses natural advantages far above all others. It is true that estimates of cost have varied; but ten, or even twenty, millions, more or less, is not a matter worthy of consideration when compared with the importance of the canal to us.

It is undoubtedly a fact not only that the American people believe that any canal that shall connect the Atlantic and Pacific

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shall be controlled by the United States, but that our government has given, upon more than one occasion, expression to this sentiment.

It has been truthfully stated by Vattel that nations, like individuals, control that which they own. If, therefore, the United States government should construct the canal, or should aid, by the use of its credit or guarantee, in its construction, this country would then in the eyes of the world occupy a very much stronger position in the final settlement of control than it does at present. Certainly no stronger argument in favor of control of anything has ever been advanced than ownership, for ownership represents an interest so high and so binding that control must necessarily be conceded.

We should be wise in our generation, and by legislation and such other steps as may be necessary, inaugurate without further delay the work of completing the Nicaragua Canal. Let us pierce the Isthmus at the one spot which nature has already pointed out, and thus fulfill what has been for centuries the hope of commerce and the dream of navigators.

A. S. CROWNINSHIELD.

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TENNYSON IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

BY WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

THE Isle of Wight is not what it was when Tennyson came to Farringford with his young wife and child in 1853. Then it was little known to the outer world, and it was too inaccessible for the holiday-makers and the business men, who now make it a home, and impart to it some of the prosaic and unlovely qualities of a London suburb.

While he was at Bonchurch he had heard of Farringford as a place which was both beautiful and far from the haunts of men, and, with his wife, he went to see it one November evening, crossing the Solent in a row-boat, when "one dark heron flew over the sea, backed by a daffodil sky."

"Next day, as they gazed from the drawing-room window out through the distant wreath of trees toward a sea of Mediterranean blue, with rosy capes beyond, the down on the left rising above the foreground of undulating park, golden-leaved elms and chestnuts, and red-stemmed pines, they agreed," says their son, "that they must, if possible, have that view to live with."

Tennyson had just begun to taste the honey of prosperity after a long delay which had kept him waiting ten years or more for means to marry on, and as if to justify what he thought might be regarded as an extravagance, he wrote: "By buying safe debentures in the East Lincolnshire Line for £2,500, with that and £500 a year" (the amount which since 1850 he had been making from his books), "I think we ought to get on."

So they rapturously settled down to a country life. "In the afternoons they swept up the leaves, mowed the grass, gravelled the walks, and he built what he called 'a bower of rushes' in the kitchen garden. The primroses and snowdrops and other flowers were a constant delight, and he began a flower diction-

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ary. He also bought spy-glasses through which he might watch the ways and movements of the birds in the ilexes, cedar, and fir trees. Geology, too, he took up, and trudged out with the local geologist, Keeping, on many a long expedition."

They made Farringford their home for forty years, and many of his best-known poems, including "Enoch Arden" and "Maud," were written there, though before the close of his life, to escape the intrusive cockneys whom he despised, he built Aldworth, a more lordly pleasure-house near Haslemere, where a part of each year was spent.

First leased, Farringford was bought three years later with the proceeds of the sale of "Maud," and his wife wrote on April 24, 1856: "This ivied home among the pine trees is ours. . . . Such beautiful blue hyacinths, orchises, primroses, daisies, marsh-marigolds and cuckoo flowers! Wild-cherry trees, too, with single snowy blossom, and the hawthorns, white with their 'pearls of May.' The park has for many days been rich with cowslips and furze in bloom. The elms are a golden wreath at the foot of the down; to the north of the house the mespilus and horse-chestnut are in flower, and the apple trees are covered with rosy buds. A. dug the bed ready for the rhododendrons. A thrush was singing among the nightingales and other birds, as he said 'mad with joy.' At sunset, the golden green of the trees, the burning splendor of Blackgang Chine and St. Catharine's and the red bank of the primeval river, contrasted with the turkis-blue of the sea (that is our view from the drawing-room), make altogether a miracle of beauty. We are glad that Farringford is ours."

One of the earliest signs of dissatisfaction occurs in a note to the Duke of Argyll, written from Haslemere, in 1867: "My wife has always had a fancy for the sandy soil and heather-scented air of this part of England, and we are intending to buy a few acres, and build a little home here, whither we may escape when the cockneys are running over my lawns at Freshwater."

The "few acres" expanded into several hundred and the little home into a palace.

Though many changes have taken place since 1853, the Isle of Wight is far from being wholly spoiled, and it is less changed at Freshwater and Farringford, which are to all intents and purposes one village, than elsewhere, the access to them being less convenient and less speedy than to other parts.

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The island is very small—so small that Tennyson seeing it from Bournemouth with its white cliffs and encircling sea, could say of it that it looked like a water lily in a blue lake. Twenty-two miles from east to west, and thirteen from north to south, it is separated from the mainland by the Sound of Spithead and the Solent, beyond which, like luminous clouds, roll the chalk bluffs of the Hampshire downs.

On the north it is low and woody. There Osborne is embowered, and Cowes sits with its fleet of yachts dancing on an amethystine flood. The interior is undulating and the hills are often bare, though the valleys are grooved with typical English lanes and set with old-time homesteads and manorial parks. It is on the south, where it drops into the sea, that the island is most beautiful. There it faces the English Channel, with a bastion of magnificent chalk cliffs, which slope inland with wide reaches of treeless but flower-bestrewn downs, over which one walks as on an elastic cushion, breathing air "worth sixpence a pint," as Tennyson, quoting Keats, once said of it.

At the eastern end, Reculver Cliff juts into the sea, and westward of it Sandown, Shanklin, and Ventnor, prosperous watering places, are strung along the shore, their architectural temporalities of red brick and stucco making a regretful contrast with the crouching, thatched, rose-enwreathed cottages of earlier days, which were their nucleus, and their piers streaking the sky at night with the lambent flame of electric lights. The brown-earthy mass of Dunnose Head flanks Shanklin on the west, and thence to Blackgang Chine extends the famous undercliff, which might better be called the overcliff—a great natural terrace high above the rustling surges and the lower roads, which was formed in the unrecorded past by the seaward slipping of the upper strata. Along the undercliff the foliage gushes out like a green waterfall; houses, gardens, and hedges are masses of bloom, and wherever there is an opening the sea shows itself like turquoise glass in a painted window. Bonchurch, loveliest of English villages, with its ancient church that could be put into the chancel of an ordinary chapel, and its many literary associations (John Sterling is buried in the gardenlike graveyard), suns itself peacefully here, and until Blackgang Chine is reached the scene is comparable to that of the Riviera, which, in its blending of water and woodland, it much resembles.

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The Chine is a chasm with variegated walls of chalk and sandstone, above which the undercliff ends, and then an embayed stretch of low, wind-swept moor opens to the westward, rising again to the height of Afton and Freshwater downs, which sloping inland front the sea with some of the noblest cliffs in the island, or for that matter in the world.

In the distance they glimmer like icebergs or promontories in a mirage, and sometimes seem to be caught up and mingled with the clouds. In the gray they glow with pale phosphorescent flame. Nearer, as from the sea, their blanched escarpments are fringed around the summits with brown tassels from the washings of the earth above, and veilings of moss and grass. There is a gap between Afton Down and Freshwater with a beach and a village sheltered in it—the village of Freshwater itself—and beyond it the cliffs soar to their loftiest point, where they open out to St. Alban's Head and Portland Bill, and are crowned by Tennyson's beacon, the memorial of the poet who made the ground his own and gave voices to its sea and heather, its gorse and sky.

Tennyson said, "Somehow water is the element I love best of all four," but in the recent Memoir he is also credited with saying that he "never cared greatly for the sea on the south coast. "It is not a grand sea, only an angry, curt sea."

Probably that was a view expressed before he became familiar with the locality, for though the Atlantic does not plunge against the Isle of Wight as against Cornwall and the West of Ireland, he himself has proved how much power and enchantment the sea reveals from the downs. Let the weather be fair or foul, Nature is never dull from the vantage-ground of those convexities which seem like the rind of the earth and give an illusion of vastness and openness beyond their actual area. Men striding on ridges and etched against the sky indeed seem "as trees walking." The wind rustling in the ear, the sheep bleating, the sea churning among the boulders, the occasional bellowing of a steamer for a pilot, the swallows crying in their low flights and the gulls screaming give the only sounds. When the mist closes over the scene, a strange sense of being disembodied possesses us as we are lost in the impenetrable vapor, and the gulls pass over our heads, visible but for an instant as they float from obscurity into obscurity. In times of storm one seems to be at the seat of the elements and a

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witness to all their processes. The clouds roll and break against the cliffs like another sea, and sunbursts flashing from them leave a silver swath over the vexed and sombre billows. On sultry days a waterspout, whirling like a dervish, is no uncommon sight, and he who makes the downs his observatory becomes wise in all the phenomena of sea and air. Climbing them at night gives one the feeling of scaling the walls of heaven itself; they slope like the sides of a pyramid, and the apex of the pyramid impales the stars. On sunny days the sea below is purple and every shade of blue and green that can be thought of, even (to use one of Tennyson's own descriptions) "like a peacock's neck."

Rarely was there a visitor at Farringford that he was not brought up to the beacon, and shown all these wonders and beauties. Except in his closing years, the poet was found upon them in all weathers and at all seasons, and from them and the surrounding scenery he drew many of the landscapes of his poems.

I have seen a picture of him standing on such a summit as High Down, where the beacon is, as an illustration to "Break, break," but those lines were not inspired or written there; they were written in a Lincolnshire lane, at five o'clock in the morning, between blossoming hedges. He left a definite record in regard to "Maud," however, and says, "Many of the descriptions of Nature are taken from observations of natural phenomena at Farringford, although the localities in the poem are all imaginary." He observed not merely with the eye of a poet, but as a man of wide scientific knowledge, and he had much more than a fair acquaintance with geology, botany, and astronomy. Flowers and birds were the burden of much of his talk in his rambles, and he was constantly making notes. "I generally take my nature-similes direct from my own observation of nature, and sometimes jot them down, and if by chance I find that one of my similes is like that in any author my impulse is not to use that simile." His son adds that if he was in the vein during a walk he would make dozens of similes that were never chronicled.

His walks were usually along the downs towards the Needles, those picturesque spikes of chalk which have been lopped off the cliffs at the entrance to the Solent, and from which vessels leaving Southampton take their departure. "The birds that made their homes on the chalk ledges, the peregrine falcons, the

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ravens with their 'iron knell,' the kestrels, the carrion-crows, the different kinds of sea birds, from the cormorants drying themselves on the pinnacles of rock in heraldic attitudes, to the seagull sunning himself among the tufts of samphire and of thrift, were ever a fresh interest. A special corner that he liked above all was a platform over Scratchall's Bay looking up to a dazzling white precipice seen far away by ships at sea, which he named Taliessin or 'the splendid brow.' At other times he would wander at low tide among the green rock pools on the shore and curiously examine the 'branching seaweed' and the brilliant sea anemones; or, when high tide coincided with sunset, would watch the great waves flinging their 'rosy veil of spray' behind them and 'shouldering the sun.'"

"The madden'd beach dragg'd down by the wave," "the spirts of wild sea-smoke," "the vast sea-cataracts," "the gray skirts of a lifting squall," and many other vivid illustrations were drawn from the downs.

Rain and wind did not restrain him, and he scorned an umbrella. With his long, dark mantle and thick boots and huge wide-awake hat he defied all storms. When Mary Anderson was tramping with him and his hat became soaked, he stopped and shook it, saying, "How much better this is than to be huddled over the fire for a little weather!"

Sometimes his two boys were harnessed to their mother's bath chair when she was an invalid, and the poet pushing behind she too was given glimpses of the swelling downs that were so rich a source of inspiration and delight to him.

The house is so completely shut in by its groves that even from the ridge of the downs nothing can be seen of it, and the curling blue smoke rising over the trees alone indicates its existence. The straggling village rambles down to the shingly beach by a lane of hawthorn hedges, and is flanked by the pale cliffs, which, as at the Needles, have cast off fragments in the form of pillars and arches with their bases in the sea. The roses in the gardens of the nearer cottages have nothing between them and the surf but a narrow bench of pebbles. Many ugly little houses have sprung up, and, like parvenu neighbors, elbow and tower above the earlier and prettier habitations. But the crescents and terraces feared by Tennyson have not yet come, and Freshwater impresses those who are seeking

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the gayeties of the ordinary watering-place as being stagnant and boresome.

The journey from London turns one's thoughts towards eternity. There are expresses as far as Brockenhurst, but there the traveller for the Isle of Wight is shunted on to a branch line, and the rest of the distance is through a country of crabs and tortoises. The train takes a nap of fifteen minutes at Lymington Town, and then softly steals on a quarter of a mile to Lymington Pier, where ancient mariners, who only need pigtails to connect them with Trafalgar, transfer you and your baggage to a prehistoric boat, which creeps across the Solent on the tips of its toes and cautiously lands you at Yarmouth. Still you are far away from Freshwater, reckoning by the clock. Octogenarian porters smile at you and your "boxes," and then have a good, long chat among themselves and with the boat's crew. Later—never sooner—perhaps in the course of an hour, the coach is ready to start, but never until the purple-faced, husky-voiced half-brother of old Weller has had his "drop," and used up all his resources of conversation with the octogenarians. When the coach starts it stops, and starts to stop again to deliver a cabbage here, a newspaper there, a baby half-way down the lane, somebody's "washing" at the end of the lane, a soldier at the path to the fort, and a voluminous old lady with a tin hat-box and ten or a dozen bursting paper parcels at the gate of one of the many little houses with "apartments" in the window. When you reach Freshwater the day is done and you feel that Switzerland might have been nearer.

What Mr. Gosse said of the poet himself in the last number of the REVIEW could be applied, if one were disposed to sarcasm, to the natives, and especially to the men. They have "a singular slowness of progression," and a sort of "premonition of great length of days" makes them very lazy. They are grave and slow, and speak with the rising inflection of the Hampshire dialect. They look after their skiffs and canoes and bathing-houses, and brood by the hour on the sorrows of the sea, solacing themselves with their frequent "drops" at the tap of the "Albion," while their wives and daughters attend to the needs of the summer visitors. In earlier days Tennyson and some of his famous visitors were not above dropping in to this cottage or that for a chat and a pipe with the humble neighbors, and more than one modest dwelling is adorned by Mr. Cameron's photographs of the poet

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and his friends, even by that celebrated one of Tennyson himself, which he called "the dirty monk."

"Ah, there do be this, and there do be that," the beachmen will say with solemn faces. Sometimes in calm summer evenings, when the sea is lacquered with bronze and without a ripple, it breaks on the beach and against the cliffs with the crash of falling masonry, while at Compton Bay it has the constant roar of a cataract, though the surface is as smooth as oil. Pausing between the hedgerows, we were listening to this thunder and its reverberations, when an old beachman shook his head: "Ah, when she do roar like that, changes be coomin'." Tennyson records the effect in the line, "There came so loud a calling of the sea," and that calling can be heard far into the interior of the island.

The house is invisible from the road as well as from the cliffs, and to see it one must either be invited or become a trespasser. Tennyson's Lane is the nearest approach to it, a glade separating the home park from outlying meadows, and from a gate here one can gaze on the same prospect which opens from the drawing-room window, and which Tennyson called "his bit of Italy." In the far distance are the buttresses of the undercliff, blending in the haze with billowy clouds; nearer, the intervening pale-green moor and the dells, which shelter such ideal villages as Brightstone or Brixton, where Ken and Wilberforce once preached; then the red and gold cliffs of Atherfield Point melt into the bluish white of Compton Bay and the yellow-fringed precipices of Freshwater Gate. All of these lie beyond a foreground of meadow, edged by tall, graceful cedars, and all dip into a sea, changeable, but as constant blue as any sea can be.

A narrow rustic bridge spans the lane, and this gave the poet access to Maiden's Croft and the little summer house, where "Maud," "Enoch Arden," "The Holy Grail," and many others of his poems were written, and where, in his closing days, he could see the downs when he was too feeble to climb them.

The estate is not of many acres and the house is plain, but a poet lived there as a poet should. His son has given a picture of him which can never fade, so vivid is it and so charged with appeal to the loftiest and most enduring of human interests. He has revealed to us not only a poet, but a great and most lovable man in a struggle with the problems that beset and harass the

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soul. Any curiosity not ignoble cannot fail to be satisfied with the opulence of detail which the son employs in depicting his father, and hereafter all pilgrims who come to Freshwater for their interest in the poet will have, through the biography, the new privilege of seeing him not as a stranger from afar, nor as the dim, illusive figure that shunned observation, but as an intimate.

The book fills the mind with pictures of him and the long roll f illustrious friends who visited him at Farringford—Darwin, Gladstone, Kingsley, Sumner, Dufferin, Garibaldi, Swinburne, Millais, Owen, Newman, Longfellow, Maurice, Tyndall, Holmes, Bayard Taylor, Prince Albert, and Jenny Lind.

We see him star-gazing from the roof of the house, and we hear his infant son asking, in childish bewilderment, "Am I dead?" as he is held out in the darkness to look at a comet. When Darwin is leaving after a call the poet says, "Your theory of evolution does not make against Christianity," and the man of science replies, "Certainly not." We see and hear him reading his poems to special friends ("Maud" oftener than anything else), slow and unwilling at the outset, but once started voluble and ready to keep on until midnight. Once when he is reciting "Maud" he turns upon a listener and asks what birds are meant by the line, "Birds in the high hall garden calling 'Maud,' 'Maud,' 'Maud.'" "Nightingales, sir," is the timid answer. "Pooh, what a cockney you are! Nightingales do not say 'Maud.' Rooks do, or something like it, 'caw, caw, caw.'"

He can be brusque at times—almost as savage as his friend Carlyle—but the disclosure of his foibles leaves him more human and not less lovable. He has a lively tussle with George Eliot on mind and matter, and as they part he smilingly says, "I wish you well with your molecules," and she as gently replies, "I can get on very well with my molecules."

There is an amusing story of his meeting some children in one of the Freshwater lanes. Expecting to amuse them, he stopped before them and barked like a dog, but the children could not see the intended humor and only responded with long faces and alarm. He was scornfully indifferent to superficial appearances, especially to his personal appearance. On one occasion, when William Allingham was visiting him and they

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were holding a candle over some books or pictures, Tennyson's hair caught fire and Allingham attempted to put it out. "O, never mind," said the poet, "it depends on chance burnings."

"One of the finest-looking men in the world," said Carlyle of him to Emerson. "A great shock of rough, dusky-dark hair, bright, laughing, hazel eyes, massive aquiline face, most massive yet most delicate; of sallow-brown complexion, almost Indian-looking; clothes cynically loose, free-and-easy; smokes infinite tobacco." He had a study, bare except for books, at the top of the house, and to this den the chosen few were invited. Tyndall found between fifteen and twenty pipes in the rack over the chimney, and the drawers of the table were crammed with tobacco of various kinds. "With few words, with many or with none, it need not be an ineloquent pipe," said Carlyle. And up here the poet would unbosom himself of the many interests that filled his mind, a mind of extraordinary variousness. Here, said Palgrave, one felt, was a man who, like Wordsworth, had lived, not indeed exclusively, but essentially, among the highest mountains, the purest air, the region nearest heaven.

Tennyson died at Aldsworth, not at Freshwater, but it was at Farringford that, when the end was nearing, he wrote "Crossing the Bar," and it was the moaning of the sea there that inspired it. He explained the pilot as meaning "that Divine and Unseen Who is always guiding us," and a few days before his death he said to his son, "Mind you put 'Crossing the Bar' at the end of all editions of my poems."

WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

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THE ENGINEER AND HIS WAR ENGINE.

BY PROFESSOR R. H. THURSTON, DIRECTOR OF SIBLEY COLLEGE, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

OUR present fleet—magnificent in quality, but still small in numbers, exemplifying the marvellous ingenuity of the American mechanic and inventor, the wonderful constructive skill of the marine engineer and naval architect, and the most extraordinary of all modern combinations of accurate design with beautiful and exact construction, and demanding the highest skill of most thoroughly trained officers for its management; concentrating in minimum space maximum power, and uniting offensive and defensive power as does no other product of science and skill—is the outcome of but about ten years of work on the part of our engineers, naval constructors, and ship-builders. This fleet includes the most perfect of modern steam engines, the most graceful of hulls, the most resistant of armor, and the most penetrating of ordnance. Ships like the "Columbia," the "Minneapolis" and their type are among the swiftest war vessels on the ocean. The fleet is the grandest triumph of the engineer and his aids that the world has seen. Its *material* is the most perfect, on the whole, yet known; it only remains to make its *personnel* correspondingly complete and effective.

In this task no difficulty can arise from lack of good men available for such a purpose. Whether in skill as mechanics, in knowledge as engineers, or in scientific preparation for their work, no nation can produce a body of men superior to that which, the right way being taken, may be readily collected to complete the requirements of a well-built and well-manned navy. The finest navy the world has seen becomes useless without an ample and well-proportioned *personnel*.

We have the ships, but we have not the men. To secure them

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ways must be found and opened for their introduction, and inducements commensurate with the talent and character required must be offered to bring them into the service of their country, in time of peace, when, if ever, we must prepare for war. It is as insane to expect to secure an efficient *personnel* on call, in the event of a sudden outbreak of war, as to anticipate that ships, which require years to build, may be improvised on demand. In this respect the difference between the modern and the ancient navy is as great as in character and power. At this moment, not only have we a very dangerous deficiency in numbers of engineers for the effective manning of the fleet, but there exists no legal path by which the needed reinforcement can be brought into the navy list.

The Naval Academy cannot produce the men either in sufficient numbers or with the high training which is to-day always demanded, even in civil life, of those who enter the profession of the mechanical engineer; and the schools of engineering of the country and the profession itself are to-day helpless to serve the nation in any emergency, simply because every legal avenue of entrance has been closed by the same influences which have reduced this magnificent fleet to its present condition of threatened failure in any such emergency.

The two principal corps of officers, by the progress of events, under unfortunate influences and with inefficient legislation, are reduced, the one to the condition of an army consisting of excessive numbers of generals with few privates, the other to the condition of an army with few privates and vastly fewer generals in proportion to privates.

The work of development of the modern engine of war is mainly attributable to a few great men of science and of inventive and constructive genius. James Watt and his successors have given us the heart of the machine, its powerful steam-engines, without which all other elements of power would be helpless; Armstrong in Great Britain, Krupp in Prussia, and Broadwell, the American—honored as a prophet, except in his own country—and their followers among later inventors and engineers, have produced the ordnance of our time, capable of driving its ton of projectile through thirty inches of iron at a thousand yards range, of attaining a muzzle-velocity of a third of a mile in a second, and of sending its shot a dozen miles and over an ele-

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vation, *en route,* as high as the loftiest Alpine peaks. Robert Fulton, the American engineer, in 1815, brought the steam-engine into the service of our own navy; Robert L. Stevens, the ablest engineer of his time, and Ericsson and his recent disciples, have covered the sides of the iron hull with armor, and thus the naval architect, co-operating with the engineer, has produced a ship, an instrument of propulsion, a battery and a fort combined —the greatest wonder of the whole modern world of engineering.

The ship-of-the-line of the days before the advent of the ironclad was seldom of more than about a thousand tons rating, carried a hundred or more guns—consisting of 32-pounders and smaller calibre, with a few 8-inch shell-guns—in the later ships, had a speed entirely dependent upon wind and wave and rarely exceeding ten knots, and was penetrable by the smallest ordnance of the time. The battleship of to-day displaces ten times as many tons of sea water; carries a few, but vastly greater, guns; steams, in smooth water, over twenty knots—24 miles—an hour; crosses the ocean at two-thirds speed without regard to wind or weather; defies penetration except by the largest of modern ordnance, and her own enormous guns drive their shell and their solid shot through from one to two and a half feet of solid iron, while her automobile torpedoes, themselves marvels of ingenuity and skill on the part of the contemporary engineer-inventor and mechanic, destroy with a single explosion the noblest, grandest, and most powerful of her adversaries. The steam-engine, the motive power of this leviathan, concentrates within a small fraction of the volume of the ship the power of thousands of horses, and is itself the embodiment of the highest skill and intellect of contemporary man. In fact, to replace the thirty-thousand horse-power engines of the latest transatlantic "liner" would require the most severe exertion of forty-five thousand horses, and their constant maintenance of such power would demand at least three relays, probably more, in the twenty-four hours—a stud of one hundred and thirty-five thousand horses. Allowing ten feet to each, as a "string-team" they would stretch a distance of about two hundred and seventy miles. The actual engines doing this inconceivable work weigh but a small fraction and occupy a still less minute proportional volume of the ship. The horses would weigh not less than seventy thousand tons, and with their pro-

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vender would load several ships such as their steel and iron representatives propel. It is this almost automatic machine, designed, constructed, and operated under the direction of the engineer that makes the modern war-ship possible.

The revolution which constitutes the evolution of the past generation has attracted the attention of every statesman. As the matter is stated by Rear Admiral Colomb, R. N.:

"What we have to do in the navy is really to welcome the coming, speed the parting, guest. The parting guest is the seamanship of the past, that which confined itself to the management of the ship under sail alone. The coming guest is steam, mechanism, and forces of all kinds other than the winds. Now, instead of frankly going out, shaking hands and bidding good-bye to the parting guest and wishing him well, and going down the steps to meet the new one and bring him in, we are holding on to the coat-tails of the old one and trying to shake hands with the coming one with the left hand, or perhaps with only one finger."

Senator Squire, addressing his colleagues, recently remarked when speaking of his visit to a lately constructed iron-clad:

"Going through the vessel, below the water-line, I observed the vast amount of machinery, the complicated elements that enter into its construction, making the care of a modern vessel of war very important as regards the future of steam engineering. One passes through compartment after compartment and is almost lost in bewilderment in the mazes of the complicated machinery around him. It occurred to me that not enough attention has been paid to the *personnel* as respects steam engineering. Truly the propelling power is the soul of the ship! Without it the ship cannot be handled and is perfectly useless. This power is under the supervision of the engineer officers; therefore it is needful to have a high order of *personnel*, a larger number of officers, and those of great attainments and proficiency." . . . "We are building in this country vessels such as were unknown in former times, and we need adepts in the art of engineering and of marine architecture. There is no way of obtaining a suitable class of men except by preparing them in the various educational schools. Ships can be built, but men cannot be built. . . . The only way to have such men is to educate them in advance."

When the first "Monitor" was battling with her comparatively gigantic antagonist, the "Merrimac," in Hampton Roads, her engineer staff took the greatest risks in the fight of the Ericsson machine with the larger craft, and the handling of her guns by Chief-Engineer Stimers saved the fleet and the coast to the country.* When the ironclad "Tecumseh" sank, torpedoed in the

* In a letter from the late Admiral David D. Porter, addressed to Engineer in-Chief W. W. W. Wood, the former wrote "I have had more than two thousand engineers under my command during the rebellion, and I have never known them to shrink from any service."

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harbor of Mobile, it was the engineer corps which suffered most, in proportion to numbers. When the British "Victoria" sank, she carried to the bottom her whole engineer department.

As Engineer-in-Chief Isherwood wrote of the States' insurrection in 1861-65 :

"Our antagonists had neither engineering skill nor resources in themselves, nor could they, owing to the efficiency of our navy, obtain them from others, and the want was fatal. They had despised the mechanical arts and sciences, and by those arts and sciences they fell.

"During the four years of the war, 115 of the officers of the engineer corps are recorded as having died in service, the majority of them being killed in battle or having died from wounds and exposure incident to their duty. In proportion to the numbers employed, it is believed that no other corps suffered so severely. The facts of the history of the corps during the War of the Rebellion are unquestionably sufficient to redeem from error every fair-minded person who may have been led to believe, from partisan arguments, that the engineer officers of the navy occupy a non-combatant status, or that the engineer corps is not a necessary and essentially military arm of the service. The truth of this must be known to even those who imagine it to be to their interest to deny it. It was freely admitted by scores of commanding officers, who had experience in war and who did not hesitate to do honor to whom it was due, in their official reports, irrespective of corps."*

When the engineer corps was organized, the engineer officer, not unnaturally, was regarded by the older class of sailor-officers as an interloper. His machinery excited dismay and disgust, as occupying space which had been available for other purposes, restricting the storage, the conveniences, above all the comfort of the men who felt that their rights of possession were not nine-tenths but ten-tenths of the ship. The new officer was designated on the books as "an idler," although then, as always, the most business-like and most unintermittedly busy of all the members of the uniformed list.

The proportional number of officers actually required in the engineer corps and in the "line" have, since 1866, continually changed in the direction of growth to the former. The civil war, which necessarily compelled the appointment of a fairly efficient body of engineer officers, brought up the proportion to about equal numbers—2,279 to 2,463 in 1865—and this proportion was retained when the navy was placed on a peace footing—379 to 395 in 1866. Since that time the size and power, and the numbers, of steam engines and boilers and accessory machinery, great and small, have been constantly and enormously increased, and the correct proportion should probably be, for the highest effi-

* Bennet, *Steam Navy of the United States.*

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ciency of the navy as itself a great machine, one giving considerably the larger number to the engineer corps.*

At the present time, with our great iron ships, weighing 10,000 tons, filled with machinery developing twice as many horse-power, the requirements would be about double the existing number of engineer officers, assuming the numbers apportioned for a peace footing, and the number of sailors and their officers, especially the latter, somewhat less than at present. For a war footing the numbers of both should be increased, the engineer corps to several times its present magnitude, the other corps very considerably. The proportion of the one to the other, so far as officers are concerned, should be, on such ships as we are now adding to our navy, about four engineer officers to three deck officers. The rank of the men in either corps should be practically the same for similar ages and periods of service, and the pay of the former must necessarily, for highest efficiency, be considerably larger for similar grades, as it is vastly more difficult to secure and maintain able men where competing with a lucrative and in all ways agreeable and seductive profession, than where sentiment and freedom from competition in business permit the selection of good men and their retention even at rates of compensation that prove unequal to the ordinary demands of their families.

The extraordinary and fearfully dangerous condition of naval affairs at present is seen in the fact that to-day, when we should have, for a navy of 108 vessels and of 320,000 horse-power, about 600 deck officers and 700 engineer officers, we actually have over 700 of the former and less than 200 of the latter; while the list is continually being reduced by deaths, resignations, and prostrations by nervous and physical exhaustion. The engineer officers number less than in the year previous to the outbreak of the civil war. Were we compelled to go into a war in our present condition, the consequences could not but be disastrous if not absolutely fatal, and that very promptly.

In 1896, with the "new navy" afloat, with about 100 vessels in commission, nearly 300,000 tons displacement and over that figure in horse-power of engines, the number of deck officers was double the figure for 1866; the number of engineer officers

* It is of course to be remembered that all influences, even in time of war, have favored undue proportion of the sailor, as compared with the engineer, branches of the *personnel*.

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one-half as great as then. There were about 2½ of the former per 1,000 tons, and only two-thirds of the latter, over four to one, where, with the quantity and power and intricacy of machinery so enormously increased, there should have been a larger proportion of the latter than in 1865. Where, in 1866, each member of the engineer corps took charge of 300 horse-power of machinery, 2,000 were assigned to each in 1896.

In March, 1896, Britain was endeavoring to keep up her quota of engineer officers, precisely the opposite of the policy so suicidally pursued on this side the ocean, and was seeking 318, while but 85 were at the time available. The British navy at that time listed 3.52 deck officers per ship, when our own listed about ten. With all conditions vastly more favorable to success than with us, that service was nevertheless experiencing serious difficulty in obtaining needed men in its now most essential corps—most essential because, were either to be extinguished, it would be vastly easier for the younger corps to learn and to assume the duties of the elder than the reverse.

For thirty years this process of emasculation of our steam navy by the constriction of its engineer corps has been going on, in spite of all protests of its best friends and the continual representation of the case to Navy Departments, Congresses and successive administrations. As long ago as 1869 the writer, then "out of the hurly burly" of the active service and with no intention of ever returning to it, and having some ambition to aid in the building up of an effective new navy, collected some figures relative to this subject, from among which are selected the following statistics:

We had before the war closed, in 1864, at a time when the exegencies of war had compelled at least some slight approximation to that correct proportion of numbers of the two great corps which, even under such circumstances, was not completely attained, in consequence of the restraining effect of the old, and still persistent, prejudices and traditions, over 2,800 officers in the line, and 1,700 in the engineer corps—a ratio of 8 to 5. In 1865 the maximum became nearly 2,500 in the line and 2,300 officers in the engineer corps—a ratio of about 5½ to 5, or nearly equal numbers. Had the natural demand been met entirely without prejudice, in favor of the one and against the other corps, the numbers even with the then comparatively small

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displacement of sails by steam that characterized the navies of the world would undoubtedly have been reversed in their proportion. The natural numbers to-day would be unquestionably such as would still further reduce the proportion of the older, and increase in marked degree those of the newer corps.

In September, 1896, the newspapers recorded the fact of the breakdown of one-half the force of engineer officers on board the "Indiana," one of our most formidable war vessels—*two* good officers! A little later news came from the Asiatic squadron of the disablement of two of its engineer officers, leaving but ten in that whole fleet, on the other side of the globe. They are compelled at times to stand watch twelve out of the twenty-four hours; while the deck officers stand watch but four hours in the twenty-four. The magnificent iron-clad "Minneapolis" was sent to sea with but three engineer officers and three boys—cadets under instruction—to manage her engineer crew and her ninety steam-engines, of a total of 21,000 horse-power. Contrast with these facts the similar statistics of, for example, the merchant steamer "St. Louis," a ship of about the same steam-power, on board of which are to be found twenty-four engineers and a half-dozen cadets. It has been sought, contrary to the advice of all those who are competent to understand the necessities and the risks of the case, to make up the list on the war-ship by putting seventeen enlisted men in the engine-rooms; but even these men are not paid respectable wages, and neither the rank nor the pay provides inducements sufficient to bring into these trying positions and responsible berths a valuable and reliable class of men. Able and reliable men will not submit to the hardships, the annoyances, and the dangers attaching to such work under such circumstances. Good pay and proper respect are the only inducements that can be offered to good and self-respecting men. Consequently the "Minneapolis" was sent to sea with vacancies in these berths of about twenty-five per cent. of the assigned numbers.

The most extraordinary fact in connection with this aspect of the whole sad and threatening situation is that, even here, the pay and ratings are fixed, not by the bureau of steam engineering of the navy or by appointed boards composed of engineer officers, but by officers of another corps, and, as shown by the very

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wording of the orders issued, by men having not even an amateur knowledge of the requirements, and having absolutely no conception of the tremendous responsibilities and dangers for which they are thus assuming a personal responsibility. Not an officer can be placed in the fire-rooms in charge of boilers; and machinery worth a million and a half of dollars, and hundreds of lives, depends upon the securing of competent management by the employment of men glad to accept $40 to $55 a month.

So far depleted has become the engineer corps that not an officer can be detailed for duty to inspect the iron and steel furnished for ordnance; only one is detailed for inspection of armor; but two are to be found at the Boston Navy Yard, only seven at League Island, and a baker's dozen or so at the New York Yard. Not an engineer officer is on the list of lecturers at the War College at Newport, and not one at the torpedo-station. Meantime, of the deck officers, 338 were, at the time when these figures were gathered, at sea, and nearly 400 were on shore duty, of whom *ninety* were in the city of Washington. The iron and steel inspection boards, altogether, include but one-seventh engineer officers. The remainder are professionally inexpert.

The tremendous strain which has come upon this splendid body of officers, through the gradual increase in the extent and difficulty of its work and the decrease in its numbers, is reflected in the following instructive and pathetic figures: On the first of January, 1886, there were only 293 officers in the corps, and of these 71, or one-fourth, were already on the retired list; but by January 1, 1896, the previously terrible record had become 173 on the active and 104 on the retired list—nearly two-thirds as many on the latter as on the former list. No such startling statistics are to be found in the annals of our own or of any other navy. At this rate the retired list will soon become longer than the active list, and destruction of a faithful and patriotic body of men must, under existing circumstances, go on with continually increasing rapidity, until a final crash disables the whole naval service more completely than would the explosive destruction of all its guns.

The greater transatlantic "liners" are the most highly-powered class of ships in the world at present, and they may, perhaps, be fairly taken as illustrating the necessary provision of officers and men in the engineers' department. In such

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ships, when carrying a total of about 400 officers and men and 1,600 passengers, there are found twenty-five engineer officers ranking with the half-dozen deck officers who are sufficient to care for the navigation of the ship and for the orderly conduct of routine outside the machinery departments. These great steamships are owned and operated by business men for the purpose of making a profit, and were it safe and practicable to replace this body of officers by enlisted men at so much less a month it would certainly be done. These officers are not employed as a matter of pure sentiment. On the "contractor's trial" of the United States iron-clad "Minneapolis," the builders employed 232 men, of all classes and grades, in the engineers' department. Her speed was 23.073 knots, which exceeds that of any transatlantic liner. But this ship was sent to sea by the United States Navy Department with but three commissioned engineer officers on board.

Complaint has sometimes been made—and with undoubtedly too much reason—of ungenerous and even unlawful discrimination in favor of the older body of officers and against the newer; but this was to be expected, and must be expected to continue, in lessening degree, as the country, the Congress, the Navy Department, and the navy officers on duty come to recognize the still unrealized nature of the evolution which is converting the older navy into the new. Off duty all officers are, or should be, alike gentlemen, whatever the rank or the corps; and the three distinguishing characteristics of the true gentleman of the day, good morals, good manners, and fine culture, will be found to be no less characteristic of the newer corps, once its proper standing is fully established, and rank and pay such as should be conferred upon so important a body of officers are assigned in such manner as to secure and preserve as high an average in all corps as is demanded by the nature of their duties. No profession compels a higher order of intelligence for its successful pursuit than that which enrolled Hero and Archimedes, Michel Angelo Buonarroti, Leonardo da Vinci, the second Marquis of Worcester, Papin, Smeaton, Watt, Fulton, Stevens, Corliss, and Ericsson among its members, and which has already furnished to the naval service men like Haswell, Copeland, Isherwood, Shook, and Melville. The writer, in four years of active war service in the fleets of Dupont and Dahlgren and under John Rogers and others, and in six years of service on the instructing staff of

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the Naval Acadamy, under Porter and Worden, and with Luce and Walker and Harrison, and most of the later chiefs of bureau, made the acquaintance of almost all of the most famous of the great men of both corps of the past generation, and found among them a full proportion of noble men, fine tempered and cultured gentlemen, and observed little cause for criticism as to personal relations in any one of the various divisions into which the naval service is divided. Once all are given their proper standing, actual and relative, all will be found working for the common good of the service and of the nation.

The cost of educating the graduate of the United States Naval Academy is reported to be a half-million dollars for thirty graduates, or about $16,000 per annum per graduate. At Harvard, the cost is less than one-eighth this amount for its four-years course; at Johns Hopkins the figure is about one-tenth, on the average, and at Cornell University the same total expenditure for the year graduates about fifteen times as many men.* It would be perfectly practicable for the government to secure this class of men, with vastly better training for the purposes of the engineer corps than they could be possibly given, at ten times the cost, at the Naval Academy, and with absolutely no charge to the government for education. The country could provide more than 200 cadets to this corps for the anticipated cost of graduating at the Naval Academy the twenty that are proposed to be added to the corps annually.

The same serious problem confronts the administration of the navy department of every naval power. The same conservatism, the same traditional prejudices, the same selfish interests impede every attempt to make this mighty engine of war efficient.

The first naval engagement into which the ships of modern fleets are hereafter plunged will reveal the weaknesses of their war vessels, and that nation which has been most fortunate in providing against a weakest spot will be most fortunate in the encounter.

R. H. THURSTON.

* In the year 1897 Cornell graduated about 450 students. The income of the university was slightly in excess of a half million dollars. Sibley College, its school of mechanical—including marine—engineering, graduated 130 students on an annual expenditure estimated by a committee of the Board of Trustees as about $70,000 per annum. This enormous discrepancy, however, is partly explained by the fact that at the Naval Academy the subjects, in the usual variety, are all taught by officers of some rank and high compensation; while, at the universities, larger classes and comparatively large sections of classes are taught by men of more modest grades and with that comparative insignificance of compensation that distinguishes the professional teacher in all times and in all places.

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OFFICERS IN THE FRENCH ARMY.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM.

THE first Napoleon said that there were no bad regiments, but only bad colonels. After their captivity in Germany (1870-71) those generals and colonels who had been most signally beaten by the enemy, opined that the greatest captain of modern times had been wrong, that, at any rate in France, there were no bad colonels, but only bad regiments, that the defeats inflicted on France had been due entirely to the latter, and they forthwith set to work reforming them.

Nearly five and twenty years have elapsed since then, the reform is still going on, and if exercise, drilling, vexations, as distinct from well-considered discipline, finnikin concern for petty details could make an efficient army, that of France ought to be the best in the world. Very competent military authorities—neither French nor German—are inclined to think that the rank and file, if not the very best, is next to it; these same authorities are not quite so sanguine with regard to the progress of the officers in all that pertains to the higher branches of military science. The optimistic among those critics ascribe the shortcomings of the French officer in the matter of "grand tactics" and "grand strategy" to the inherent faultiness of the system of recruiting the officers and of the rules that govern their promotion; others attribute them to the nature of the French themselves, although they are by no means disposed to approve unreservedly either the system of recruitment, or of the rules that govern the promotion of officers. To begin with; they say that the Frenchman with all his incontestable intelligence is not sufficiently of a plodding nature; secondly, that he is still too much wedded to the idea that dash and devil-may-care

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pluck will, at a certain moment, make up for soberly conceived and ruthlessly executed design.

From personal observation I am tempted to side with them in those latter strictures. Reichshofen, which as a purely heroic feat, *sans phrase*, ranks next to that of Balaclava; Mars-la-Tour, Gravelotte, and Sedan ought to have taught a terrible lesson in that respect to the young French officer, and to his elders who still survive; I am afraid that such is not the case. Nay, more, I fear that if the opportunity presented itself, those experiments, in spite of their previous disastrous results, would be once more sanctioned by the latter and accepted by the former, in virtue of the apparently logical, but really fallacious, plea that the regiments they are handling now are superior on all points to those of the Second Empire. One cannot make a silken purse out of a sow's ear. And yet there is something equally difficult to that, namely, to make a sow's ear out of a silken purse. A protracted period of hard fighting will sometimes make a plucky man out of a coward; no length of inactivity will make a nation of cowards out of a nation of fundamentally brave men; and though it may sound paradoxical, the courage of a nation may prove as baneful to her as the most arraut cowardice. Not the most persistent and cantankerous detractor of France will deny her dare-devil pluck in the hour of danger, and even Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose testimony is all the more valuable in this instance, inasmuch as he never suffered from excess of physical valor, said, that "a man's pluck compensates for nearly all his other shortcomings in the eyes of his fellow-men." In spite of the Duke of Wellington's maxim, I, for one, do not believe that "every man is brave," and I feel certain that there are nations who are innately the reverse of brave; consequently, I am not going to utter the commonest of all platitudes, that of deriding or underrating pluck.

Nevertheless, there is such a thing as overrating pluck, and it has often struck me that the exaggerated value the French themselves set upon that and their equally indubitable natural intelligence, or to put it more correctly, their "spontaneity," has seriously influenced for the worse the wished-for higher education of their officers by not modelling the recruitment of these, and the rules governing their promotion, upon the system prevailing in the German army, from which, I need not say, they

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have borrowed many things. In order to make this clear, we must look at the two systems side by side.

There are two ways of getting a commission in the German army. 1st. By entering one of the schools for cadets. 2d. By contracting an engagement in the active army as an *avantageur*. The late Chancellor of the German Empire, Count von Caprivi, was an *avantageur*.

The cadet, who, as a rule, is the son of a living or deceased officer, begins his military training and education at the age of ten. Even his first examination, without which there is no admission, is not easy. I have heard an erstwhile English *attaché* in Berlin, a man of very great attainments, say that there is not a single boy of twelve either at Eton, Harrow, Rugby or Marlborough who could successfully stand that test. It would appear, though, that it is literally child's play compared to the subsequent ordeals the German would-be officer has to undergo until he is nineteen. If everything has gone well with him until then, he is considered fit to enter the Superior School for Cadets, the curriculum of which is of about a twelve-month's duration and terminated by another examination, which, I fancy, would make most of us turn tail. The latter test, if victoriously confronted, opens the officer's career to him, for, on leaving the Superior School, the young fellow is in point of fact an officer, though as yet neither in name, nor legally. Nominally, he is only a *fähnrich*, that is, an ensign, a standard bearer, and he remains such until a vacancy among the sub-lieutenants of the regiment to which he has been appointed gives him a chance of a commission; for, as will be seen directly, even then there may be a slip 'twixt the cup and lip. We will leave him for a moment to have a glance at the *avantageur*.

The latter is generally a youngster belonging to a good family, for unless he be, the attempt to enter the army in that capacity would almost prove a forlorn hope. Circumstances may not have revealed to him his vocation for a military career until it was too late to adopt the first named method, or his parents may have had neither the means nor the influence to secure an admission to a school for cadets, of which there are six, exclusive of the superior school. The education at the schools is not gratuitous, albeit that the fees are not excessive; but we must bear in mind, first, that those fees have to be paid for ten years,

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and increase in amount as the pupil advances in his studies; secondly, that the incomes of even the well-to-do middle classes in Germany are very restricted. No doubt there are certain concessions made in favor of the sons of meritorious officers, whether living or dead, but these privileges are jealously guarded by the whole *corps* of officers in the German Empire, and rarely, if ever, conceded to the sons of civilians. We must not lose sight of the fact that in spite of many assertions to the contrary, the *corps* of officers throughout Germany is a kind of State within the State, which acknowledges only one chief, the Emperor, to whom it is devoted body and soul. "War," said Mirabeau a hundred years ago, "is the national industry of Prussia." Prussia and Germany have, by this time, pretty well become synonymous terms, as Queen Victoria, in a letter written to the late Princess Alice, nearly a quarter of a century since, predicted they would; and though war may have ceased to be a national industry in Germany, the barracks still outstrip the factory in sociological importance.

Hence, the young fellow whom circumstances have debarred from entering the school for cadets, but who, nevertheless, displays a liking for a soldier's career, has but one alternative left, that of joining the army as an *avantageur*, for even the most enthusiastic would scarcely care to depend upon the chance of rising from the ranks. Such an instance might almost be called phenomenal and needs no discussion here.

The *avantageur* can only become such on the recommendation of a superior officer, not lower in grade than a colonel, and after a minute inquiry as to his conduct, habits and tastes, his family and their social standing, and a very stringent examination of his general education: to which must be added a certain proficiency in military matters. After that he joins the regiment as a non-commissioned officer, whence, in a little while, during which he performs active duty, he is sent to attend the courses of one of the schools of war for about a twelvemonth. His examinations having proved satisfactory, he returns to the regiment as a *fähnrich*, and from that moment all distinctions between him and the *fähnrich* issued from the schools for cadets cease. Both await their turn for a commission under absolutely similar conditions. When a vacancy occurs, the colonel proceeds to summon all the officers of the regiment and they decide whether

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the senior *fähnrich* (the senior in point of nomination) is *worthy* of being invested with a commission. If the majority decides against him, the matter is at an end, and the next candidate in point of seniority is proposed. If, on the other hand, the majority is in favor of his election, the adverse minority are bound to state their objections in writing, which documents, appended to the report of the meeting, are forwarded to the Emperor who finally decides.

And now let us look at the dual system of recruitment that obtains in France.

The young Frenchman aspiring to a commission and corresponding to the German cadet begins, first of all, his military training and education, in some cases seven, in most cases, eight years later than the latter, according to the branch of the service he elects to join. In Germany the selection is not left to himself or to his parents but is determined by his tutors, professors and instructors—the three are very distinct—in view of the pupil's aptitude during the course of his studies. The French lad goes to St. Cyr if he wishes to be an infantry or cavalry officer, to the Polytechnic School if he intends to join the artillery or engineering corps, albeit that, on leaving the latter institution, he need not join either branch, but may simply don once more the civilian's garb and start life as a civil engineer under the auspices of the government, as did the late President of the Republic, or independently of the State.

At St. Cyr the pupil officer is supposed to get in addition to his instruction in the higher branches of military science, a practical knowledge of the routine regimental duties which the German cadet acquires while with the regiment itself as a *fähnrich*. The *régime* of the "1st Battalion of France" (*) consisting of eight companies, instead of the regulation four of the line battalion, is with a few exceptions similar to that of the ordinary regiment in barracks. Some people pretend that it is both harder and stricter, and to look at the programme one would be tempted to indorse their opinion. Personally, I am inclined to think that that programme contains too much if the whole of it has to be absorbed in two years. The pupil-officers rise at five in

(*) The official title of the aggregate of the pupils at St. Cyr is "1 *Bataillon de France.*" It is inscribed on the Verso of their standard, the, recto of which bears the inscriptions—"*Ecole Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr*" and "*S'instruire pour defendre la Patrie.*"

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summer and winter, and for sixteen hours and a half have scarcely a moment to call their own. Their food, accoutrements and clothing are superior to those of the common soldier, but in all other respects they lead the life of the latter, being subject to the same punishments, confinement to barracks, guard room and cells, etc., etc. But the common soldier, knowing that three years at the utmost will see him restored to civil life, has not to worry his brain with the imbibing of a lot of knowledge for future use. Nine times out of ten—in spite of all patriotic high-faluting to the contrary—he cares little whether he leaves the army as a sergeant or as a private; and, when he has mastered his drill and his "theory," his main concern is to keep himself out of trouble by carefully attending to his duties, keeping his kit and arms in good order, and to spend the remainder of his thirty-six months of servitude as pleasantly as possible. Not so the aspirant officer; he knows that there are examinations looming in the distance, at the end of the first year and at the end of the second, and that failure in either would entail more than unpleasant consequences all round. There would be, to begin with, the disappointment of his parents, especially if the latter have been compelled to pinch and scrape at home in order to provide him with the necessary funds to pursue his studies; secondly, if he and they were still bent upon his pursuit of a military career, there would be the disagreeable necessity of joining the colors as an ordinary private to get his commission finally by way of St. Maixent, the school for non-commissioned officers, about which I will have something to say almost immediately.

Consequently, the pupil-officer crams excessively, with or without success as the case may be. Mental digestion will resent gluttony as well as material digestion; and two years of mental cramming, accompanied by irrational bodily fatigue, will prove as injurious to the brain as would two years of material gorging, unaccompanied by any exercise at all, to the stomach. Of course there are exceptionally endowed constitutions that would stand either or both, but I am treating of the average young man. In Germany the bodily and mental training is spread over ten years, in France over two, at the most over three. The sub-lieutenants of the cavalry, artillery and engineers, go respectively to Saumur or Fontainebleau for a twelvemonth after having received their commission.

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We will leave the St. Cyrien for a while and have a glance at the non-commissioned officer aspiring to a commission. It is only within the last fifteen or sixteen years that the latter has been required to furnish more or less solid proofs of his general knowledge. Formerly, if considered apt to become an officer, he was proposed as such by his colonel, examined by the inspector-general, and according to the rotation of proposal, not of efficiency, nominated to a vacant commission. That system had two serious defects; on the one hand, all those who failed in their examinations at St. Cyr, but whose birth, social standing, means or parentage could command a certain influence, got their commission nearly as quickly as their more hard-working and intelligent fellow pupils of St. Cyr; on the other, this or that non-commissioned officer, exceedingly valuable as a non-commissioned officer, an excellent penman and accountant, enjoying high consideration at the hands of his captain, liked by his colonel, was found to make an indifferent officer. Neither his general education nor his technical instruction was adequate to the dignity of a commission, especially in view of the fact that, with the actual rules governing promotion in the French army, every sub-lieutenant is sure to become a captain if he live long enough, and irrespective of his mental attainments. Considering that the duties of the captain are becoming more important each day, the dangers of such a system must be patent enough even to the most casual observer. There is, moreover, an additional cause for friction. The sub-lieutenant, whether he hail from St. Cyr or from St. Maixent, is always the social and intellectual equal of the majority of his rank and file; most frequently the erstwhile St. Cyrien is their superior in both respects. Of course, under the present dispensations, there are privates in the French army, who belong to the oldest families in the land, and dispose of the most ample means; there are others who, though not belonging to that exclusive caste, have their roots in *la haute bourgeoisie*, there is a third section, the sons of the middle classes, whose professional studies render them the intellectual superiors of their officers, but those three sections combined constitute, after all, only a minority. Discipline, their own dignity and good sense, enable them to swallow many a bitter pill; their resignation to the inevitable is fortified by the

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knowledge that in thirty-six months at the most they will be free men again. But what of the sub lieutenant or lieutenant of refined habits and good attainments, who finds himself condemned to live cheek-by-jowl, or at any rate to associate for at least six years, with fellow lieutenants and captains, virtually risen from the ranks and, what is worse, "smacking of their origin?" What of the prospect of being lorded over by a captain whose captaincy has converted him from a clod in manners into a martinet and bully and into an ignorant and therefore all the more conceited bully into the bargain? And St. Maixent, if everything were known, has had the effect of increasing rather than diminishing such characters in the French army. Competent but at the same time most lenient critics are reluctantly compelled to admit that, even as a temporary sop to the demon of democracy and equality at any price—who, unlike the Cerberus of mythology would let every one go in instead of keeping everyone out—the school for non-commissioned officers has not done its work. They say, that if, on the one hand, St. Maixent be an improvement on the old method, and the various experiments that succeeded it, in raising the standard of instruction, it has, on the other hand, opened the door to many serious abuses not thought of formerly. The erstwhile non-commissioned officer, promoted directly from the ranks, had, at any rate, to earn the goodwill of his colonel and the tacit support of all his immediate superiors before he could become a candidate for a commission. That goodwill was a certain guarantee of his moral worth as a man, though, perhaps, not of his intellectual fitness for a commission. That guarantee of his moral worth is no longer necessary. The non-commissioned officer wishing to enter St. Maixent has no need to solicit the support of his superiors; after three years with the colors, viz., six months as a private, six months as a corporal, and two years as a sergeant, he justifies his request to enter St. Maixent, by an examination, which, say the critics, is not half stringent enough. St. Maixent has, moreover, the unenviable reputation of being, of all the French military schools, the one where the least efficient work is done. The worst that can befall the non-commissioned officer, if he fail in his examination after a twelvemonth's stay, is to have to return to the regiment in the same capacity in which he left it; meanwhile he has had a year of superior clothing, superior food, superior pay, and freedom from the ordinary wor-

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ries of the regiment, for the pupils of St. Maixent are treated as adjutants. But the examination which is to secure them their commissions, "*n'est pas la mer à boire?*" to use the French expression. I have seen some of the papers, and though I virtually left school many, many years ago, and was never apt at anything connected with mathematics or figures, I think I should have little difficulty in doing them myself and "on my head."

These, then, are the two absolutely distinct categories of officers to whom the destinies of the French armies are confided, for, as I have remarked just now, every sub-lieutenant has the certainty of getting his captaincy if he lives long enough, no matter what his intellectual attainments may be.

On the one side, there is the category of sub-lieutenants from St. Cyr and the Polytechnic, well-educated, but, the latter especially, without real knowledge of the practical side of a soldier's life. Those issued from St. Cyr are perhaps not so ignorant as the others, in virtue of their two years' training under a *régime* which is supposed to be similar to that of the ordinary regiment, for, according to those best qualified to judge, they are, on their joining the regiment, and in spite of that training, like fish out of water. These judges also assert that the two years' strain, bodily as well as mental, is apt to produce a reaction, when the first stage of their career has been reached. In other words, the young sub-lieutenant is prone to rest on his laurels for a while.

On the other side, there is the category, issued from St. Maixent, the members of which are generally four years older than their fellow-sub-lieutenants and possess the practical routine of the regiment, but whose education is lamentably superficial. The majority of these, it is argued, never look beyond a captaincy, their pension and the cross of the Legion of Honor after thirty years of active service, all of which they are almost sure to get. They are either the failures of St. Cyr, in which case they generally have means beside their pay, or else the sons of the working classes, to whom a pension varying from 2,000 francs to 3,000 francs at fifty-five years of age is by no means a despicable goal. Not ten per cent. would have been able to get such a provision for their declining days in the ordinary pursuit of commerce, agriculture or industry, and, if they are still sufficiently active and energetic, they may find some light employment.

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I repeat, the sub-lieutenant in the French army is sure to get his captaincy, if he do not advance further. I am aware that the provisions of the new law have endeavored to "put a spoke in that indiscriminate wheel of promotion," by insisting upon certain further examinations in the cases of promotion both by seniority and by selection; but I am also aware that these provisions are virtually a dead letter and that the examinations are nothing less than a sham.

The German officer is not called upon "to cram" for an examination every two or three years of his career; for if the examinations in the French army are going to be taken *au serieux* at all, such tests will be required of its officers at frequent intervals, inasmuch as promotion is much quicker with them than with their German compeers. The German candidate for a sub-lieutenancy, whether he be a cadet or an *avantageur*, has to justify his candidature by an excellent educational foundation. In the one instance he has a ten years' training in the schools; in the other, the very fact of his belonging to the better middle classes, without which there is not much chance of his admission as an *avantageur*, presupposes a higher intellectual training than that of the young Frenchman, who joins the regiment as a private because he must and springs from an altogether different class, and endeavors to work his way up. The German superior officers see the *fähnrich* at work often for two or three years, and have a veto upon his further advancement; the French superior officers have no veto at all; the St. Cyrien or Polytechnicien—the X, as the latter is more frequently called—comes to the regiment with his commission in his pocket; his superiors have never cast eyes on him until that day. Nor is there a veto with regard to the non-commissioned officer who has successfully passed through the school of St. Maixent.

Promotion in the German army goes by seniority alone. Up to the rank of captain inclusively, it is regulated per regiment; beyond that rank it extends over the whole of the army. There are a few exceptions to these rules in favor of aides-de-camp to the Emperor and other sovereigns and officers leaving the *Kriegschule* with a staff-brevet. But in all other cases, the system of seniority is strictly adhered to, and the officer who sees a junior promoted over his head knows that he has no alternative but to apply for half-pay or send in his resignation. He

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need not console himself with the thought that he has been accidentally overlooked or that there has been any favoritism. He has been plainly given to understand that he is not considered capable of occupying a rank superior to that which he holds. In that way and without the least fuss the officer of inferior attainments is quietly eliminated. I have said that promotion in the German army is slow. A French sub-lieutenant may confidently count upon a forward step in his career after three or four years, the *minimum* is two ; the German sub-lieutenant has often to wait ten and never less than eight. The French lieutenant gets his captaincy after two or three years; two years being still the *minimum ;* the German lieutenant does not get his company before six. The French captain has at an average to wait for his next promotion five or six years, four being the minimum ; the German captain twelve or thirteen at the least.

I need pursue my comparisons no further. If I have been at all explicit, the reader will be able to fill in the rest for himself.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

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THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

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I.

THE epidemic of yellow fever which has been raging throughout several Southern States for the past three months has aroused anew in the lay mind the question of the relation of the national government to the public health. I say in the lay mind, for, almost without exception, physicians and sanitarians in all parts of the country who are most competent to speak on this subject have long since decided that a well-equipped strong, active department of health in the national government is a pressing necessity. The American Medical Association has for years passed resolutions at its annual meetings urging the importance of such legislation, and year after year a committee appointed from that body for that purpose has endeavored in vain to induce Congress to pass a proper national health bill. President Cleveland in two of his messages urged Congress to make such provisions as would improve the facilities for extending the aid of the national government to local and State health authorities in their fight against disease at all times, and especially in times of epidemic.

In 1894 the New York Academy of Medicine and the New York Chamber of Commerce, acting together through committees appointed for the purpose, drafted a bill providing for the establishment of an efficient Health Bureau in the Treasury Department of the United States. This bill was introduced in both Houses of Congress and referred to the proper committees. Large

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numbers of petitions and letters from distinguished physicians and medical societies in every State of the Union were sent to their respective representatives in Congress, urging the passage of the bill. Leading physicians, sanitarians, and bacteriologists of the country appeared before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the Lower House, to which the bill was referred, and demonstrated the need of such a law.

Notwithstanding all this, the bill was not favorably reported. It was defeated because of the cry raised by members from certain sections that it would be an interference with "State's rights" for the Federal government to assume the function of general supervision over the health boards of the various States, and by advice and suggestion endeavor to secure uniformity in their health laws and concert of action in enforcing them.

The opposition argued that it would savor too much of centralization for the Federal government, either under the direction of a Cabinet Officer of Public Health, or of a National Health Board, to step in and suppress epidemics when they appeared in any one of the States outside of the District of Columbia, even though such State had demonstrated its inability to cope with the situation alone. Carried to its logical conclusion, the argument amounts to this: A State's rights are more precious than the lives of its people, and though all should die, yet must not the assistance of the other States of the Union be accepted by the afflicted one, because their power can be exerted only through the common central government.

Members of Congress from the Southern States, where the opposition to national health legislation was greatest, boasted that sanitary conditions in the Southern cities had been so much improved, and the local and State boards of health had become so efficient, that all fear of yellow fever becoming epidemic again was without cause, although the leading sanitarians and scientists of the country held a contrary opinion.

It has taken less than four years to prove that this boasted sense of security was false. The recent epidemic of yellow fever long and obstinately defied the utmost efforts of the local and State health authorities to stamp it out. It is no reflection on these afflicted States that they failed, and were obliged to ask aid from other sections of the country. Similar failure is liable to be the experience of any State when attacked by an epidemic

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disease, because no State can have at hand proper resources in money and organization to repel promptly and effectively an extensive invasion of disease germs, any more than it can be expected single-handed to repel an invasion of its territory by a foreign army.

It is unjust and unreasonable that one State should have to bear alone the brunt of suppressing an epidemic which appears within its borders. By reason of climate and geographical location some States are more liable than others to epidemic outbreaks, and the burden of protecting all other States in the Union should not fall on the State attacked. Disease germs have no respect for State lines, and no effective warfare will ever be made on them until the resources of the whole country are united in a thoroughly equipped national health department, which will stand ready at all times to promptly stamp out infection wherever it may appear, regardless of political divisions of the country.

Scarcely any two States in the Union have the same health laws, and many of them have none at all, or they are so inefficient, both in construction and enforcement, that they are unworthy of serious consideration in the light of modern knowledge of the causation and prevention of disease. This present condition of chaos in the health laws of the various States of the Union destroys all hope of stamping out, or materially lessening, the micro-organisms which produce any one of half a dozen diseases which attack hundreds of thousands of our people annually. The efforts of any one State to destroy within its borders disease-producing germs will be neutralized by the failure of all the other States to act in concert.

Some of the States, New York and Massachusetts, for instance, have taken steps to stamp out tuberculosis through their Boards of Health. It is well known now that one of the principal occasions of infection of human beings by tubercle bacilli, is eating the flesh and drinking the milk of tuberculous cattle. A system of inspecting the cattle throughout the States above-mentioned has been in operation for several years, and large numbers of diseased cattle have been killed and paid for by the State. But the existence of this law in one or two States alone makes those States a market for diseased cattle from all other States which have no such law; and as the State pays a fair price for

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each animal destroyed, a thriving business can be done by buying tuberculous cows in other States and bringing them into a State which has an inspection system. And, furthermore, the facilities for shipping beef and milk from one State to another are so great that anything short of a united effort of all the States to get rid of tuberculous beef and milk will be comparatively ineffectual.

Similar difficulties will be encountered in stamping out any of the communicable diseases so long as each State acts independently of all the others.

Not long ago an epidemic of typhoid fever appeared in the city of Elmira, New York. A large number of persons were attacked by the disease in a few days. The New York State Board of Health promptly discovered that the water supply of the town was infected with the germs of typhoid fever, and they proceeded to trace up the various streams which contributed to the general water supply, to find the particular one which was furnishing the infection. The little stream which was finally found to be the source of all the trouble was over the line in Pennsylvania. The difference in the health laws of the two States, the conflict of authority, etc., etc., caused great delay in getting rid of this stream of typhoid fever germs which was infecting all the water that went to the city of Elmira.. As a result, some hundreds of persons were seized with the fever, and a large percentage of them died. Numbers of such instances could be cited.

A unifying and supervising force in the national government which will direct, harmonize and render efficient the agencies of the various States is what is needed. The present efforts of the forty-four States of the Union to get rid of disease germs suggests nothing so much as if forty-four persons were set to work to sweep clean a large floor, and each one, acting on his own account, should decide to sweep only in a little circle around where he stood. The dust from each sweeper would simply be tossed into the circles of the others and back again, and so on for ever, without the floor becoming cleaner. Now, let some directing force insist that all sweep in one direction, each aiding the other, and the work is soon completed.

There is no longer any mystery about the etiology or cause of a number of the most common and destructive diseases. The modern microscope in the hands of accomplished investigators in

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all civilized countries has in the last fifteen or twenty years revealed a new world of animal life, which in numbers and variety exceeds the animal life we see around us with the natural eye. A vast majority of these microscopic creatures are harmless when taken into the human system, as they constantly are ; but among them are found what correspond to the lions, tigers, rattlesnakes, tarantulas, etc., of the visible world, and when one of these secures a foothold in the human body, establishes a colony, and begins propagating its kind, some form of disease is the result.

Physicians have known for generations that such diseases as cholera, yellow fever, diphtheria, etc., were distinct and peculiar affections, and capable of being communicated, but just what the poison in any one of them consisted of, in which of the fluids or solids of the body it resided, and what the conditions under which it could be communicated from one person to another, were until recently pure matters of speculation. Now we know certainly that each one of these communicable diseases depends for its existence upon the presence in the system of a peculiar and specific poison, which produces just that one disease, and nothing else. We also know that in each of these diseases the poison consists of a micro-organism or living germ, which in appearance and manner of attacking the human body is always the same, and produces the same symptoms. Each one of these forms of life can be separated from all the others and cultivated outside the human body.

When placed in the proper culture media, they grow, propagate, reproduce themselves, form colonies and pass through their various stages of existence, much like what happens in a bee-hive or an ant-hill. The germs are living things, and each variety has its own definite life history. Generation after generation of them may be raised outside the body as the farmer raises cattle or sheep. A few years ago, Professor Koch still had growing in his laboratory at Berlin tuberculosis germs which were descended in direct line from ancestors planted in 1881. A modern bacteriological laboratory reminds one of a zoological garden. One shelf contains tubes in which are the living germs of cholera, another diphtheria, another typhoid fever, etc., just as in the animal house one cage contains leopards, another hyenas, etc., etc. There is another important fact in this connection. Modern science has taught us the habitat of these differ-

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ent germs, that is, where they exist naturally outside the human body, so that we can trace with almost unerring accuracy the source of infection in a given case or epidemic, and by the scientific application of disinfection and sanitation destroy the germs in their lair. Legislation has not kept pace with these great discoveries, and the result is, that the people have been deprived of the blessings which would flow from their application on a large scale by the national government.

As corresponding secretary of the committee appointed by the New York Academy of Medicine to draft the bill providing for a national health organization, and to secure, if possible, its passage by Congress, I became thoroughly familiar with the views and feelings of the medical profession in all parts of the country, and I know that I voice their sentiments when I say that the national law-makers should, on the grounds of humanity, pass the laws necessary to enable the government to begin the extermination of these microscopic scourges of the human race. But if the annual death and suffering of hundreds of thousands of our people have no effect on our practical statesmen, then we appeal on the ground of economy. The annual pecuniary loss to the people of the United States caused by the sickness and death resulting from attacks of disease germs is incalculable. And any expenditure made under intelligent direction to destroy these death-dealing creatures would return a thousand-fold increase in saving to the people. A Department of Agriculture, with a cabinet officer, was established a few years ago. And why cannot a Department of Public Health be also established under the Constitution? If the Constitution forbids it, then alter the Constitution to meet the requirements of modern discovery.

Health legislation in the past, both in States and nation, has been almost entirely confined to the establishment of efficient quarantine regulations at our ports of entry. Everything has been done to *keep out* disease germs, but practically nothing has been done to destroy those disease germs which are *already in*, which, like the poor, are always with us, and year after year send hundreds of thousands of our people to their graves. It is as if hosts of wild beasts were destroying the people throughout the whole land, and we should content ourselves by setting a watch at each port of entry to guard against anyone bringing in

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any more. We in this country can never enjoy the full benefits of the tremendous discoveries of recent years as to the causation and means of preventing communicable diseases until our law-makers dispel from their minds the illusion that their whole duty is done when they have devised the best possible system of seaboard quarantine. I am not arguing against quarantine stations along our seaboard; though many authorities look upon that system as an antiquated one, which gives a poor return for the outlay. England has entirely abolished it in her ports. Quarantine, or rather disinfection stations, at our ports of entry would be *only one*, and by no means the most important, feature of a proper national health organization. Our point is, that Congress should look away from the coast line to the interior, and not only legislate to *keep out* disease, but establish an efficient national health organization which would also result in a practical application of our knowledge as to the prevention of those diseases which always exist among us. Cholera, yellow fever, typhus fever, and bubonic plague are practically the only diseases which quarantine stations pretend to keep out, and these diseases taken together have not caused an average of one thousand deaths per year in the United States for the past twenty years. On the other hand, three diseases alone, viz., tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and diphtheria, destroy 157,072 lives annually.* And be it remembered that we are as familiar with the cause and means of preventing these three scourges of our people as we are with those of the diseases against which we quarantine. If it is contended that the low death rate from those communicable diseases against which the nation keeps up a quarantine is directly and solely due to the quarantine, we will admit the contention, and that fact at once becomes the strongest argument why the national government should also carry on a successful warfare on those other disease germs which already exist within our borders.

When an epidemic of yellow fever, such as has been in the Southern States this autumn, appears the public is thrown into a condition of semi-panic; business and transportation are interfered with,† and that disgrace of the close of the nineteenth century, the shot-gun quarantine, is established. These same people who are so afraid of an occasional epidemic of communicable dis-

* See United States Census for 1890.

† Dr Holt, ex-President of the New Orleans Board of Health, estimates the loss to New Orleans from scare and quarantine during the late epidemic at $25,000,000.

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ease are not at all disturbed by the fact that three or four other diseases, just as communicable, and just as eradicable, are always in their midst causing a hundred and fifty thousand deaths per year. And, worst of all, their representatives in Congress have hitherto opposed every effort to secure legislation which would make all three sources of all the people available for the immediate suppression of these periodic epidemics which they so much fear, and what is of greatest importance, for keeping up a steady and efficient warfare on all the microscopic enemies of the human race within our borders until, like the buffalo, they shall become extinct.

There is certainly no higher function of government than the protection of the lives and property of its citizens or subjects.

Millions of dollars are expended annually by the United States to maintain an army and navy to protect the lives and property of the people against possible enemies in the form of armies and navies of other nations; while at all times, right in our midst, we have actual enemies in the form of various kinds of disease germs which not only destroy life and health, but cause untold financial loss, and on which war could be waged by the government with intelligence and effectiveness almost equal to that required for warfare on the ships and soldiers of a foreign nation, or upon lawless mobs within our borders. Such a war would be a victory from the beginning, for no sooner would it be inaugurated than the death rate would begin to decrease. This is demonstrated in countries like Germany and England, where the means are being applied, and the death rate, especially from tuberculosis, is steadily decreasing. Tuberculosis causes more deaths than any single disease. Ask any up-to-date physician what would be the effect on the death rate from this disease if the United States should destroy all tuberculous cattle within our borders; and this would only be one of the many methods which a well-equipped national health-department would adopt to rid humanity of these various scourges. An effort is to be made to induce the present Congress to pass national health legislation, and let us hope that the time of waiting has at last come to an end.

JOHN H. GIRDNER, M. D.

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II.

THERE are few subjects relating to the public health which have been more frequently discussed than the management of the quarantine service of the United States, and the recent outbreak of the yellow fever in the South has again brought this matter into prominence. Thus far the agitation has been mainly confined to those who have been directly or indirectly affected by the rigorous methods established at the seat of infection, but there is little doubt that the subject will attract the attention of the medical profession and Congress during the coming winter. This matter has so long been the subject of controversy that any legislation which will aid in securing an arrangement satisfactory to all will be received with favor. Inasmuch as the subject has been discussed largely on theoretical grounds, a consideration of it from a practical standpoint will not be out of place.

The quarantine system of the United States, which is generally understood as referring to the coast service, consists at the present time of fifty or more stations, of which all but ten or fifteen are comparatively small in size and connected with unimportant ports. Most of the entire number, including those at the larger ports, such as New York, New Orleans, and Boston, are under State or municipal control. Some of the smaller stations, particularly at Southern ports, have at different times been placed in the hands of the Marine Hospital Service, a branch of the Treasury Department of the United States. These stations, which were formerly in charge of the local authorities, were turned over to the government for lack of appropriations, or from apathy on the part of the health officials or community with which they were identified. The work performed at these points, however, is comparatively small. For instance, out of 12,127 vessels entered at seventeen quarantine stations (during 1896), including ports of larger size, 6,241, or more than one half, entered at the port of New York, 1,322 at New Orleans, and about 1,000 at Boston. Of 252,350 steerage passengers arriving in this country during the same period (1896), 190,928 arrived at the port of New York and were examined at the quarantine station at this place. Almost all of the remainder were received at other ports where State or municipal quarantine exists. It

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will thus be seen that the quarantine service of the United States is practically in the hands of the State or municipal authorities. Most of these stations are well equipped with proper apparatus for the disinfection of ships, buildings for the care of the sick and those held for observation, and are in charge of experienced officers, who, as a rule, have been long in the service.

The occasional outbreak of yellow fever in the South, and the rigid and frequently unnecessary restrictions imposed by the health authorities at the seat of infection, and also in cities and towns some distance away, have caused considerable dissatisfaction on the part of the public, at least the commercial element of it. This is due principally to the annoyance and loss of business caused by the stringent methods employed to arrest the extension of this disease. The unsatisfactory condition has been aggravated by a want of harmony on the part of the health officials in charge, particularly in the smaller towns, who have apparently been unable to allay the fears of a certain portion of the citizens in their immediate localities. As a result, "shot-gun" quarantines have been inaugurated, trains stopped, railroad tracks destroyed, and fear has expressed itself in other ways which savor somewhat of the sanitary methods of the Middle Ages. Although, as a rule, these difficulties occur in inland towns, and have really nothing to do with the quarantine or coast service, it is the belief of some that the government control of the quarantine stations, that is, the substitution of Federal officers for those already in charge, would be the remedy for the evil above described. In the different outbreaks of yellow fever, smallpox, etc., which have occurred from time to time throughout the country, no specific charges have been made that they have been due to the carelessness of quarantine officials. In the present outbreak, the Louisiana State Quarantine on the Mississippi has neither received, nor is it deserving of, censure. The avenue through which New Orleans and other Southern towns have recently become infected is at present unknown. The charge that the disease came through the Federal Quarantine at Ship Island has not yet been proven. The vast extent of the United States coast furnishes ample opportunity for the illegal landing of small craft at some distance from a port of entry. In this manner infectious diseases may be introduced into the country. Refugees from Cuba have frequently entered the United States in this manner,

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and it has been necessary for the authorities at Washington to detail vessels from time to time to watch the Southern coast to prevent the landing of these people. It is evident, therefore, that the appearance of an imported infectious disease in a community is not necessarily to be attributed to a lax or improper quarantine, and when we consider that the lack of uniformity in the regulations relating to the treatment of infectious diseases, which so seriously interferes with the business of the country, is mainly confined to the interior, particularly to small towns, and to the municipal sanitary administration of the coast cities, and does not appertain to quarantine, it seems strange that this matter has not been considered in a broader sense and a remedy suggested which will be far-reaching enough to affect the interior as well as the coast.

Those who advocate the government control of quarantine declare that the advantages to be gained are as follows:

First. A uniform treatment of all vessels and persons subject to quarantine.

Second. The prevention of the annoying and unnecessary regulations, which interfere with business and travel during an outbreak of yellow fever in the South.

Third. The abolition of fees which are now charged vessels for the support of quarantine, and the maintenance of this service by appropriations made by Congress.

It cannot be denied that in former years the treatment of infected ships, passengers, and crews was based largely on theory. The origin of infectious disease was unknown, and therefore the treatment was in a great measure empirical. The agents for disinfection were employed according to the opinions or experience of the official in charge, with no fear of criticism, as at that time none was competent to criticise. As a result, quarantine methods, not only in this country but throughout the world, were at variance with each other, and in a measure justified the censure and ridicule which were frequently expressed by the people. Within the past few years, however, a change has taken place, and a new era in marine sanitation has begun. Bacteriological researches have given us indisputable evidence of the germ origin of infectious disease. The pathogenic organisms have been carefully studied, and as a result a flood of light has been thrown on the methods for the care and treatment of these affections.

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Following this work came careful and exhaustive investigations as to the germicidal power of various disinfectants. The result of this work has been satisfactory in the extreme, and recently the value of these agents has been very clearly defined. As a consequence, the manufacture of new and improved apparatus for disinfection with steam, formaldehyde gas, etc., is now carried on with great vigor in large centers. The change to which I have just referred removes whatever excuse may have formerly existed for the employment of erratic, impracticable, and unjust quarantine measures.

Those who are conversant with quarantine work fully understand that the same rules cannot properly or safely be applied to all ports. Each section has its own climatic conditions and peculiarities. The character of shipping and commerce differs, and methods which are admissible, practical, and just at Southern ports within the yellow fever belt cannot consistently be enforced at New York or Boston without deserved censure. It thus follows that certain differences in the requirements of quarantine regulations in the various sections of the country are not only admissible but imperative. This is not generaliy appreciated, and therefore is not taken into consideration when the subject of quarantine is under discussion. A careful consideration of the facts we now possess regarding marine sanitation will show that the tendency is toward quarantine methods which as far as practicable are uniform.

The second reason advanced by those who favor the direct control of the quarantine service by the national government is that the change will insure a harmony of action throughout the infected district; that "shot-gun" quarantine will be a thing of the past, and that the injury to business will be reduced to a minimum during the prevalence of yellow fever and other infectious diseases.

To those who do not appreciate the distinction between the quarantine service as it is now understood (*i. e.*, that which protects the coast) and the management of health matters in the interior, the second reason given is at least plausible, but when properly analyzed it is not only illogical but absurd. It is not rational to expect that a Federal quarantine officer, whose jurisdiction is practically at a port of entry, could consistently visit an interior town where an infectious disease existed, and

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demand recognition as a health officer or even recommend himself as an arbiter. The inherent belief in local rights, if nothing else, would prevent it; with the characteristic energy with which Southerners usually resent interference, a suggestion of this character in that section of the country would probably be followed by ejection. If this were admissible, the United States government could with equal propriety send Federal troops, unasked for by State authorities, into interior towns to quell slight disturbances. Both State and municipal health officers are, as a rule, clothed with sufficient power, if properly and intelligently exercised, to protect their respective localities against infectious disease; this power they are usually jealous of, and they resent outside interference, particularly from one whose authority is not well defined. It is evident, therefore, that a Federal quarantine officer, with power at the coast only, could not be relied upon to create harmony among health officials in the interior.

The proposition to abolish the fee system, now depended upon for the support of the quarantine service, and to call upon Congress for large appropriations for this purpose, will probably not appeal to taxpayers or students of economy. The State quarantines are practically self-supporting. The fees, which are now comparatively small, are paid principally by foreign vessels. These vessels bring with them all classes of people, some of whom are frequently a menace to the health of the country. For the transportation of these people and also for the freight which is carried the owners of the vessels are well paid. It is pertinently asked, why should they not pay a reasonable fee for the inspection of their ships, and why should the Federal government be asked to appropriate money for this purpose.

To one versed in sanitary science it is inexplicable that a national control of the quarantine service should be specially advocated as a means of protecting the general health of the country, when the obstruction to business and travel, the enforcement of foolish and unnecessary rules governing the entrance and exit of persons and goods during the prevalence of infectious disease, are confined mainly to the interior towns, or at least to those places outside of the jurisdiction of quarantine officers.

In order to appreciate the absurdity of this it is only necessary to consider the great mortality in the interior, due to infectious diseases, which frequently results from carelessness and ig-

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norance, not on the part of the people alone, but also of the health authorities. Small towns have been subjected to great loss of life by outbreaks of diphtheria. In one week fifty deaths have occurred in a place of two or three thousand inhabitants without causing much consternation outside the immediate locality, and without any action on the part of the government officials, who are so solicitous regarding the coast quarantine.

Serious outbreaks of typhoid fever are constantly occurring as the result of a polluted water supply. This occurs from year to year without any apparent concern on the part of the community affected. Another danger to which the public is exposed, particularly the infantile portion of it, is the milk of tuberculous cattle. When it is considered to what extent milk is relied upon as the sole nourishment of children, the gravity of this danger cannot be over-estimated, particularly as we know this disease to be very common among cattle, frequently involving 10 to 50 per cent. of an entire herd. Although bacteriological work has confirmed the danger from this source, but little effort outside of the large cities has been made to protect the consumers. The loss of life in the United States from yellow fever is absolutely insignificant compared with the deaths resulting from causes just enumerated. If it is necessary for the protection of the people, that the government should assume *direct* control of health matters at the coast, it is equally if not more important that it should take direct charge of the health of those living in the interior.

The recent outbreak of yellow fever in New Orleans and other Southern towns has been of a particularly mild character. The mortality has not exceeded 13 per cent., which is extremely low. At no time in New Orleans has the disease passed beyond the control of the efficient Health Department, the officers of which deserve praise for the energetic manner in which the emergency has been met. This much, however, cannot be said of the methods for protection employed by the health officials of some of the smaller Southern towns invaded by yellow fever. The want of harmony which has here prevailed, and the absurd and unnecessary rules enforced, have been followed by an irreparable injury to business, and it is not a surprise that the business community should demand some change which would prevent a repetition of the experiences which have followed the recent outbreak. This, however, is not the first time that this disease has

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invaded the South, and although the lesson each time has been severe, it is rapidly forgotten; otherwise, the construction of proper sewers and clean streets would be demanded. This, I am sorry to say, is not the case, nor is the importance of such measures fully appreciated. If Southern citizens and legislators, who are now clamoring for a change in the administration of the quarantine service, would expend the same energy in securing appropriations for the construction of proper sewerage systems, and means of securing good sanitary conditions, the danger from yellow fever would be reduced to the minimum, and the fear of this disease, which now prevents the proper execution of sensible health ordinances, would doubtless soon be a thing of the past.

It is evident that the substitution of a national quarantine system for the present one is not the remedy for the evil complained of. It is not sufficiently comprehensive. Therefore, the question arises, what change can be made which will best protect the public of this country against the danger and annoyance from infectious disease both at the coast and in the interior? I believe that the consensus of opinion of those who are best able to decide this matter is that the establishment of a National Bureau of Health offers the best solution of the problem. This bureau should be sufficiently distinct and separate from any other body in order that it may not be embarrassed in its work. Its functions should be to co-operate with State and municipal authorities, and to see that certain general health laws applicable to both the coast and interior are enforced. This body should assume direct control only on invitation or when the State or municipal officers are unable by reason of lack of funds, etc., to perform the work. This would insure a uniformity of action without interfering with the rights of the State or municipality, and would in a measure be educational. It has been suggested that this work be placed in the hands of the Marine Hospital Service; this suggestion, however, is not seriously entertained by many who are fully conversant with the subject.

The Marine Hospital Service, which is a branch of the Treasury Department, and under the control of a Supervising Surgeon-General, was created for the relief of disabled American seamen. For this purpose hospitals, laboratories, etc., have been equipped in different parts of the United States. The character of this work demands the highest respect, and it would seem that, with

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the facilities now at hand for the investigation of disease, ample employment could be furnished the medical officers of this service, particularly as scurvy, beriberi, and other like maladies which affect seamen are not as yet well understood. It is certain that the Marine Hospital Service is not properly constructed for the management of a national bureau of health in addition to its own work. It is so considered by the American Public Health Association and other medical bodies.

There is a matter to be considered which is of great importance, and which has a distinct bearing on this question. I refer to the proper education of medical men in this line of work. The majority of graduates of medical colleges leave these institutions without having seen a single case of any quarantinable disease; they know practically nothing of disinfection or disinfectants, or the care of infected ships or houses Therefore, when they have been brought face to face with these conditions, they are frequently powerless to act. This is only too soon recognized by the public, and a want of confidence in a health officer of this kind is naturally followed by such excesses as shotgun quarantines, etc. That the necessity for this education is appreciated by the profession is evident from the fact that a special course in the study of infectious disease and sanitation will probably soon be added to the curriculum of the different medical colleges.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

III.

THE recent epidemic of yellow fever in the South has fully demonstrated that State and municipal health authorities are inadequate to prevent the entrance and spread of infectious and contagious diseases, and has emphasized the necessity of national action in dealing with cholera, yellow fever, smallpox and the plague. So far, the most efficient means of preventing the entrance and spread of these exotic diseases is unquestionably the enforcement of strict, scientific quarantine and sanitary regulations.

The numerous conflicting and, in many instances, ridiculous quarantine regulations, formulated by State, county, and muni-

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cipal authorities, and enforced oftentimes by excited and inexperienced men, aided in some cases by the shotgun, during the epidemic of yellow fever which has just prevailed in the Gulf States ; the utter disregard of commercial and railway interests, and in the end the complete failure to arrest the passage of the contagion from town to town and from State to State, form a telling object lesson, which must convince the staunchest supporter of State autonomy that the Federal government should take entire and complete control of quarantine in these several diseases.

Illustrations of confusion and conflict of sanitary and quarantine regulations during the recent epidemic were to be found everywhere in the territory involved. Unreasonable quarantine restrictions were imposed. One State quarantined against another State, and one town against another town. One or two small villages in Alabama and Mississippi quarantined even against the world. Travel was interfered with or wholly suspended ; commerce was paralyzed throughout Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and greatly hampered in all contiguous States; while the movement of railway trains in these States was either entirely forbidden or limited. The United States mails were stopped and more than once destroyed by local authorities. The requirements of State and local boards of health for disinfection were in many instances as absurd as they were incompatible with each other, and the absence of uniformity in regulations imposed unjust hardships upon the travelling public and the railways interested. The loss to the country must be estimated by millions of dollars. The South was on the very threshold of prosperity; crops were abundant in yield, manufactories were opening up, and new life and hope were ready to enter. In the presence of this happy condition, a single case of yellow fever was introduced, and the disease was allowed to spread, producing a panic among the people, destroying commerce and traffic, and affecting injuriously every enterprise in the section. State and municipal authorities found themselves unable to cope with the disease or to stamp it out, because they lacked experience and the machinery for effective quarantine and for the enforcement of sanitary rules and regulations.

The very inception of exotic epidemic disease in this country

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is of national concern. The appearance of a single case of yellow fever in Galveston affects Boston, and, like leaven in the commercial mass, its influence extends to every centre of trade and manufacture in the country. As epidemic diseases when existing in this country are factors in interstate commerce, Congress has the constitutional right to enact laws governing the same.*

The act of Congress approved February 15, 1893, provides for limited quarantine rules and regulations, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service. Rules and regulations were formulated by the Surgeon-General, assisted by an advisory board of the Marine Hospital Service (the members of which were all experts or had had large experience in quarantine matters), and these were promulgated by the Bureau. The powers of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury are not broad enough to meet the exigencies of the case. It is made the duty of the Supervising Surgeon-General, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, to "co-operate with and aid State and municipal boards of health in the execution and enforcement of the rules and regulations of such and in the execution and enforcement of the rules and regulations made by the Secretary of the Treasury; . . . but if the State or municipal authorities fail or refuse to enforce said rules and regulations, the President shall execute and enforce the same." It is, therefore, plain that the Marine Hospital Service cannot intervene in an early effort to stamp out infectious or contagious diseases, unless the local authorities fail or refuse to act, and State and municipal pride too often prevent local authorities from asking for Federal aid until the disease has made progress in spreading. And the fact must not be lost sight of that quite often local health officers are not sufficiently acquainted with the symptoms of epidemic diseases to be able to make prompt and correct diagnoses. There is also danger of concealment of epidemic diseases by local physicians and health officers in order to save their friends and patients from the inconvenience of quarantine stations and detention camps, and to protect the local interests of towns and States. Discrimination by State and municipal officers in control of

* See Section VIII., paragraph 3, U. S. Constitution.

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quarantine involves danger, as recent experience has shown, in the spread of contagious diseases. Small towns in the South and Southwest, where cholera and yellow fever are most liable to gain a foothold, do not maintain eminent medical experts in these diseases, and few of the physicians in these smaller towns have had laboratory and hospital training. It requires reasonable and uniform quarantine laws and skilled and well-trained medical men to meet the exigencies of an epidemic. State, county, and municipal boards of health are too often created by favoritism, and their tenure of office is short-lived. Local health officers are not always selected for their ability, experience, and fitness—often merely for political reasons; and the cost of maintaining thorough and efficient quarantine is apt to have a deterrent influence on cities with depleted treasuries.

The expenses incurred in preventing the spread of contagious diseases from one State to another, and from State to Territory, should properly fall as a burden upon the Federal government. The national government maintains at Washington through its Marine Hospital Service one of the best and most efficiently equipped biological and bacteriological laboratories in the country, and is constantly carrying on investigation and training members of the corps in work connected with contagious diseases, quarantine and sanitary matters. It has the machinery and the experience necessary to stamp out epidemic diseases promptly, when such have been brought to our shores. Notable instances of the prompt handling and the prevention of the spread of yellow fever may be cited as in the epidemics at Jacksonville, Florida, in 1888, and Brunswick, Georgia, in 1893. In both of these epidemics the disease was circumscribed in territory, and its spread prevented by the Marine Hospital Service. In addition to having complete outfits for detention camps, which are placed at convenient points and can be put in service on twenty-four hours' notice, the bureau has representatives, as experts and experienced surgeons, at every important port of entry along the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts. These medical gentlemen are specially trained for this work, and nearly all have been in the service for a considerable number of years. Surgeons entering the Marine Hospital Service are required to pass a rigid examination before the Board of Medical Examiners, and if successful, are then recommended to the President for appointment and

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commission. Promotion in the service is attained by successful examinations.

In addition to the paramount importance of having trained and experienced men, and all necessary machinery, in the effort to prevent the introduction and spread of infectious and contagious diseases, instead of local and inexperienced men with local interests, it must be admitted, without taking into consideration the item of expense, that the government, exercising its prerogative of interstate commerce control, should take entire charge of quarantine relating to yellow fever, cholera, smallpox and the plague.

It is encouraging to note that a marked and radical change in sentiment throughout the South and Southwest has taken place regarding national control of quarantine.

At the eighth annual meeting of the Tri-State Medical Association of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee, at Nashville, resolutions were introduced and passed, placing that Association on record as favoring national laws giving entire control of quarantine to the Marine Hospital Service in outbreaks in this country of cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, and the plague; and a concurrent resolution was recently introduced in the Georgia Legislature memorializing Congress to enact additional legislation enlarging the powers of the Marine Hospital Service. This resolution goes further and gives in charge to this Bureau all quarantine matters in the State of Georgia during the continuance of an epidemic.

Almost the entire press of the South has given its endorsement to these resolutions, and it is gratifying to know that the medical profession and boards of health and commercial bodies in the region affected by the recent epidemic of yellow fever have expressed their approval of national control of quarantine.

C. M. DRAKE.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE LEGALITY OF PROGRESSIVE TAXATION.

THE Supreme Court of Illinois, with but one dissenting voice, has affirmed the constitutionality of the progressive inheritance tax law of that State, and the case* has now been appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States for a determination of the question whether progressive taxation is repugnant to the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The law in question was passed by the Illinois Legislature in 1895, and imposes a tax of one per cent. upon the excess above $20,000 received by each direct heir; two per cent. upon the excess above $2,000 inherited by each nephew, niece, uncle, aunt, or descendant thereof; and for more distant relatives and all others three per cent. of estates of from $500 to $10,000, four per cent. of estates of from $10,000 to $20,000, five per cent. of estates of from $20,000 to $50,000, and six per cent. of all exceeding $50,000. Thus where direct heirs and other near relatives are concerned the tax is not progressive in the usual sense of the word, though the generous deduction from each taxable legacy or distributive share in these cases really does make the percentage of the whole claimed by the State greater when the amount is large.

Aside from the intrinsic importance of the case, the Illinois decision is the more noteworthy because the court which rendered it has the reputation of being a very conservative body; for example, a factory law limiting the hours of labor for women was recently annulled by this court on the ground that it interfered with freedom of contract. It is also worthy of notice that the court refused to follow the decision of the Ohio Supreme Court,† which had declared unconstitutional a similar progressive tax on direct heirs. The two laws were of course examined with reference to two different State constitutions, but so far as there was any difference between the constitutions in that respect that of Illinois was less favorable to progressive taxation. The Ohio court found nothing in the constitution of that State to prevent the tax in question, except the seemingly irrelevant propositions that "all political power is inherent in the people," and that "government is instituted for their equal protection and benefit"; while the Illinois constitution does require that a tax on a franchise or privilege shall be "uniform as to the class upon which it operates." The question was what was meant by a class, and how far the legislature might make its own classification. The court held that when the legislature levied a progressive tax at six different percentages, six classes were created, and that the tax was uniform as to each class.

* Kochersperger *v.* Drake, 47 N. E. Reporter, 321.
† State *v.* Ferris, 53 Ohio, 314.

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Another line of reasoning based upon the law of inheritance also led up to the favorable decision. The court said in effect that the rights of inheritance and bequest being creations of statute law, the legislature might regulate and impose conditions or burdens upon them; that to deny the right of the State to impose such burdens would be to deny its right to regulate the administration of estates.

Arguments similar to both of these had been urged by the State in the Ohio case, but without avail, although the reasoning was equally applicable in both cases. It should be added, however, that the objections of the Ohio court were not wholly or even chiefly due to the progressive principle, as will be seen from the following language of the court: "The right to receive the first twenty thousand dollars of an estate not exceeding that sum is protected from taxation, while the right to receive the first twenty thousand dollars of an estate exceeding that sum is taxed the sum of two hundred dollars. This is not equal protection. Again, the right to receive fifty thousand dollars' worth of property of an estate not exceeding that sum is taxed five hundred dollars, while the right to receive fifty thousand dollars of an estate exceeding that sum is taxed seven hundred and fifty dollars. This is not equal protection." In other words, the court's first objection was concerned with the injustice resulting from the exemption, which might have been obviated by allowing a deduction of $20,000 from every direct inheritance, as in Illinois. The second objection was to this particular kind of progressive taxation, and this, too, might perhaps have been obviated by making each percentage apply only to the excess above the next lower class. Then the first $50,000, or the first $70,000, or any other sum, would be taxed the same amount in every case. The court's language does not make it clear whether a progressive tax of this kind would have been upheld, but it at least suggests that it might have been; and at any rate the tax would have been more equitable. Certainly the decision is not conclusive against this kind of progressive taxation, even in Ohio.

What, now, are the prospects of the Illinois law at the bar of the United States Supreme Court? It is contended by the appellant that by this act the State of Illinois deprives persons of property without due process of law, denies to persons within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, and abridges the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, all in violation of the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. In determining whether this section is applicable to any new case, it is necessary, as the Supreme Court itself has pointed out, to look at the purpose for which it was enacted. That purpose, as every one knows, was to raise the negroes to the status of citizenship and endow them with certain civil rights. In other words, it was proposed and adopted with the double purpose of defining citizenship and making permanent the essential features of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which gave to negroes "the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens." Although the amendment is naturally in more general terms than the statute, the latter shows about what was meant by "the equal protection of the laws." And the history of the provision showed so plainly that it was intended for the benefit of the negroes that the Supreme Court long doubted whether any act not directed by way of discrimination against the negroes

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as a class would ever be held to come within its purview.* In time, however, its application was extended to discriminations against the Chinese,† and finally to matters having no connection with race or color, but coming strictly within the language of the amendment.

But the application of the Fourteenth Amendment is still by no means so wide as is often assumed. In particular, the clause prohibiting the taking of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, though it refers plainly enough only to sufficiency of legal procedure, has been appealed to as prohibiting all sorts of new or unusual legislation. Mr. Justice Miller, in the case of Davidson *v.* New Orleans,‡ called attention to the "strange misconception of the scope of this provision." He described the situation in the present case exactly when he went on to say: "It would seem, from the character of many of the cases before us and the arguments made in them, that the clause under consideration is looked upon as a means of bringing to the test of the decision of this court the abstract opinions of every unsuccessful litigant in a State Court of the justice of the decision against him, and of the merits of the legislation upon which such a decision may be founded." In like manner Mr. Justice Peckham has recently § written: "It was never intended that the Court should, as the effect of the amendment, be transformed into a Court of Appeal, where all decisions of State Courts involving merely questions of general justice and equitable considerations in the taking of property should be submitted to this Court for its determination." And he repeated the general rule laid down in the New Orleans case, that whenever a tax, assessment, servitude, or other burden is imposed upon property for the public use, and the law provides for a mode of confirming or contesting the charge in the ordinary courts of justice, together with due notice to the persons affected or such proceeding as may be appropriate, the owner is not deprived of property without due process of law.

The clauses concerning the privileges and immunities of citizens and the equal protection of the laws do not refer exclusively to legal procedure, but they have no application to the present case. Their meaning has already been defined by the Supreme Court. The privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States were enumerated in the Slaughter-House Cases, and more recently‖ a condensed definition has been given by Mr. Chief Justice Fuller, who says: "The privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States are privileges and immunities arising out of the nature and essential character of the national government, and granted or secured by the Constitution of the United States." The other clause is interpreted¶ to mean simply "that no person or class of persons shall be denied the same protection of the laws which is enjoyed by other persons or other classes in the same place and under like circumstances."

The Court has been called upon to construe the Fourteenth Amendment in several cases in which questions of taxation were directly involved; and it has become a well-established rule that the amendment does not prohibit classification by State legislatures on any reasonable basis. Mr. Justice

* Slaughter House Cases, 16 Wallace, 36; Strauder *v.* W. Va., 100 U. S., 303.
† Yick Wo *v.* Hopkins, 118 U. S., 356.
‡ 96 U. S., 97.
§ Fallbrook Irrigation District *v.* Bradley, 164 U. S., 112.
‖ Giozza *v.* Tiernan, 148 U. S., 657.
¶ Missouri *v.* Lewis, 101 U. S., 22; Moore *v.* Missouri, 159 U. S., 673.

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Bradley laid down the rule as follows:* "The provision . . . was not intended to prevent a State from adjusting its system of taxation in all proper and reasonable ways. It may, if it chooses, exempt certain classes of property from taxation at all, such as churches, libraries, and the property of charitable institutions. It may impose different specific taxes upon different trades and professions, and may vary the rates of excise upon various products; it may tax real estate and personal property in a different manner; it may tax visible property only, and not tax securities for payment of money; it may allow deductions for indebtedness, or not allow them. . . . We think that we are safe in saying, that the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to compel the State to adopt an iron rule of equal taxation." In the words of Mr. Justice Field,† "the amendment does not prevent the classification of property for taxation." Mr. Chief Justice Fuller, in the opinion already quoted, stated the rule in the following words: "Nor in respect of taxation was the amendment intended to compel the State to adopt an iron rule of equality; to prevent the classification of property for taxation at different rates; or to prohibit legislation in that regard, special either in the extent to which it operates or the objects sought to be obtained by it. It is enough that there is no discrimination in favor of one as against another of the same class." Finally, Mr. Justice Lamar summed up the situation by declaring,‡ "This Court has repeatedly laid down the doctrine that diversity of taxation, both with respect to the amount imposed and the various species of property selected either for bearing its burdens or for being exempt from them, is not inconsistent with a perfect uniformity and equality of taxation in the proper sense of those terms; and that a system which imposes the same tax upon every species of property, irrespective of its nature or condition or class, will be destructive of the principle of uniformity and equality in taxation and of a just adaptation of property to its burdens."

Progressive taxation, moreover, is no new thing to the national government; on the contrary, it has the force of precedent on its side. The federal house-tax of 1798 was progressive, ranging from two to ten mills on the dollar. Again, the income tax of the Civil War period was levied at progressive rates from 1862 till 1867; and this progressive tax was in operation at the very time when the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed by Congress. Under these circumstances, if there had been the slightest intention of prohibiting progressive taxation it would have come out in the debates. Altogether, there seems very little likelihood that the Supreme Court will find progressive taxation unconstitutional.

The importance of the case now pending can scarcely be overestimated. In the extent and permanence of its results it is of vastly more importance, for example, than Governor Black's annotated pocket veto of a similar progressive tax law in New York, which recently attracted so much attention. An adverse decision would mean the prohibition of progressive taxation throughout the United States, and hence would annul not only the Illinois tax, but the inheritance tax of Missouri, the income tax of North Carolina, and the railroad taxes of several States; and it would put a quietus upon any thorough-going reform of State taxation. On the other hand, a favorable decision will doubtless prove a powerful stimulus to the

* Bell's Gap R. R. Co. *v.* Pennsylvania, 134 U. S., 232.
† Home Insurance Co. *v.* New York, 134 U. S., 594.
‡ Pacific Express Co. *v.* Siebert, 142 U. S., 339.

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development of progressive taxation throughout the country. After such a decision by the highest court no State court will be likely to annul a similar act unless the State constitution very plainly requires all taxation to be proportional; a vague generality in the bill of rights will not be considered sufficient.

MAX WEST.

HOW TO REFORM OUR FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

A CONVENTION was held in Indiana recently to discuss the question, how the United States could have a financial system which would secure the bill holder and furnish an adequate volume of currency for the needs of commerce, and it was resolved to ask Congress to appoint a commission to investigate it, and President McKinley at the last session of Congress asked that this commission might be appointed. A law for that purpose passed one branch of Congress, but failed in the other. This action is possibly in the right direction, although by a great many people the problem is considered simple. I do not think a commission necessary to find out whether we need a financial system, and whether the bank notes shall be secured or not, or whether it shall be adequate in volume. It goes without saying that we do need such a system. If any class of people are to be inquired of as to what that system shall be, it seems to me it should be the bankers of the country.

In asking an editor of a Texas paper not long since about this subject, and what he would do in relation to finances, he replied by asking the following questions: "If you want a man to manage a newspaper, would you ask a man who had never been in a newspaper office to manage it?" "If you want to know about matrimony, would you ask a man who had never been married to tell you about it?" "If you wanted to know about the financial question, would you ask a man who never had a dollar and did not know how to make one?"

Make it easy for the banks to lend money and their rates of interest will be low. If they can be permitted to use their securities, State and municipal bonds, in addition to their United States bonds, as collateral security for their circulating notes, it will be to their interest to do this, and it will enable them to lend money at a lower rate.

The government can neither create nor lend money, but it has occasion frequently to borrow. During the last administration of Mr. Cleveland, the Treasury required large sums of money above the revenues collected, and it had to go upon the market to borrow it, and it was borrowed of the banks.

Our National Bank Act with four amendments will supply a uniform circulating medium absolutely secured and of adequate volume for the needs of commerce.

First: Let the national banks issue their circulating notes up to the par value of the government bonds which are deposited in the Treasury to secure them, and relieve them of all federal taxation, except just enough to pay for the printing of their notes and the expenses of the Comptroller's office.

Second: Let the government fund its floating debt (including greenbacks, treasury notes, and silver certificates), and refund its bonded debt into three per cent. one hundred year bonds.

Third: Should the time ever come when the United States bonds are in-

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sufficient in amount to furnish security for the needs of the national banking institutions as security for their circulating notes, then authorize a committee, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency and the Treasurer of the United States to receive State and municipal bonds at a price which they shall fix as security for any additional amount of national bank notes which the banking institutions may apply for. This proposition may be objected to, but when it is known that Mr. Gage, the present Secretary of the Treasury and late President of the First National Bank of Chicago, and all other bankers, will lend money to any extent upon Chicago city or New York city, or any State, bonds, why cannot the bill holder be just as well secured by these bonds as he can be by United States bonds? This amendment will secure any additional amount of circulation which the business of the country may require.

Fourth: Repeal the Sub-Treasury Act and let the revenues of the nation be deposited in the national banks (which the government has created and supervises) where collected. This will relieve the government from doing business upon the safety deposit plan, and will keep all the money of the country in substantial circulation.

Our National Bank Act thus amended will give the nation a financial system second to none in the world. These amendments are not suggested for the benefit of the national banks, but on the contrary for the benefit of commerce and of the people who borrow.

C. B. FARWELL.

ADVANTAGES OF HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

A LITTLE over a year ago the writer had the opportunity of visiting the Hawaiian Islands, and of spending some time in studying some of the questions connected with this truly remarkable little Republic. The numerous articles which have lately appeared in opposition to the proposed annexation have led me to think that the impressions thus formed might be of interest. In presenting these I have tried to view the question purely from the standpoint of a citizen of the United States, with no other thought than the attainment of the greatest good for our own country.

Before my visit to the islands I was strongly opposed to the annexation of Hawaii or any other country. As a matter of principle, I am of the opinion that we have enough territory of our own to look after; but the Hawaiian Islands seem to be in a class by themselves, and I came away from there an ardent annexationist. I have yet to meet anyone who has visited the islands and studied the people who has come to a different conclusion.

The first impression received on landing in Honolulu is that one is in a New England city, far more "American," in fact, than many of our Western cities. The men who are now the governing class are the descendants of the missionaries and early settlers, reinforced by a strong body of English and Scotch, who have formed a government as clean as any in the world. These Islands, thus governed, are offered us as a gift. Why should we desire them?

The Hawaiian group consists of eight inhabited and a few uninhabited islands lying within the tropics at a distance from San Francisco of about two thousand miles. In the aggregate their area is nearly equal to that of Massachusetts. Agriculturally they have not begun to be developed. They

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are situated in the most fertile part of the world, with a climate simply perfect, and are capable of producing all the sugar and coffee which this country can consume, to say nothing of rice and all kinds of tropical fruits. They would provide us with three excellent harbors for commerce and coaling stations, and would control the cable communication of the Western Ocean, besides aiding our shipping by giving the carrying trade to American vessels.

A second reason why we should desire these islands is their relationship to the protection of our Pacific coast. In case of war with Japan, or any Eastern country, Hawaii would be the key to our western coast in the same way that Bermuda would be the key to our eastern coast in case of war with England. Holding Hawaii, which can easily be fortified, our western coast would be safe against attack from any country, with the possible exception of Great Britain, and in the unfortunate event of war with her the advantages of a detached coaling and supply station are apparent. It is admitted, I believe, even by the opponents of annexation, that the United States should never allow a foreign power to obtain possession of the islands, and if this is true it would always be necessary for us to be in a position to defend them in case of war, without being in a position to fortify them or reap any of the advantages of ownership in time of peace.

Another reason why we should desire these islands is the fact that they have been christianized and civilized by Americans. It was American missionaries who won the people from the debasing rites of a religion which sacrificed human beings to cruel and repulsive deities, and to-day the men who represent the higher life of the islands are thoroughly American.

What are the objections to annexation? The articles in *Harper's Weekly*, by Mr. Schurz, present, I think, all the arguments against annexation as strongly as they can be put. To take them up in order. Mr. Schurz says: "Annexation will be a radical departure from the traditional policy of this republic, etc." Is this true? Did we not annex Alaska, Louisiana, New Mexico, Texas, California, and other States, whose value at the time of their annexation was less apparent than is the value of Hawaii? Is not Alaska much farther away and less accessible than Honolulu?

Again he asks: "Have the natives been consulted?" No, but were the American Indians consulted in the early days here, or the natives of Alaska in later times? The natives have proved themselves to be incapable of governing and unfitted for the condition of civilization, as is shown by their rapid decline in numbers and their inability to adapt themselves to changed conditions; and the importance of their supposed opinions on annexation has been greatly exaggerated. Numbering 500,000 in the time of Captain Cook, they are now reduced to about 30,000, and occupy much the same relation to the white population as our Indians do here. Indolent and easy-going, they are perfectly content with any form of government which allows them to sun themselves, bedecked with flowers. This view is borne out by the failure of the recent mass meeting in Honolulu organized solely for the purpose of proving that the native Hawaiians are actively opposed to annexation. It is natural that the white man should become the governing power; and, in the exercise of this power it is equally natural that he should wish to turn over his territory to a strong civilized nation for protection and advancement; since, if they rely solely on their ability to defend themselves, it is impossible for the islands to maintain their independence for any length of time. Indeed, the question of deepest concern is

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not annexation—for this is inevitable—but to what country shall Hawaii be annexed? Shall it be Japan or England or the United States?

It must, however, be conceded to the opponents of annexation that the mixed character of the population is a real drawback; but the difficulties it creates are not insuperable, as our laws already cover the question of Asiatics.

The Chinese are not yet dangerous. Their numbers are large; but they are a peaceable people, without cohesion, and would give no more trouble than the same race does in our Western States, where the battle has been fought and the question is now practically settled. If annexed, they would be readily amenable to our laws.

The Japanese element is by far the most serious difficulty. Since the war with China these people have become exceedingly arrogant and self-assertive, and the spirit of national aggrandizement extends from the Mikado to the lowest coolie. From the standpoint of the Japanese this spirit may be most commendable, but it will have to be firmly met by the United States when our own interests are at stake.

The Portuguese are a harmless element. I can see no reason why we should not expect people of the Anglo-Saxon or German race to become dominant, not only in power, but also in numbers, as soon as the question of government is finally settled. Certainly, few Anglo-Saxons or Germans would care to become the subjects of a dusky queen under a constitution like the one which caused the revolution of '93.

The question of statehood has not been raised, and is not more imminent than is the statehood of Alaska. The annexation of Hawaii would not "launch us on a course of indiscriminate aggrandizement," would violate no precedent, and would leave every other case of annexation to be decided on its merits as the former cases have been.

Another argument of those opposed to annexation is that, if it is wise to annex Hawaii, it is equally wise to annex Cuba, and all of the West Indian Islands. It would, no doubt, be of immense advantage to this country to possess Cuba or some of the other West Indian Islands, if the conditions were the same as in Hawaii. If Cuba were populated by the native Caribs, and virtually owned and governed by our own people, there would be no question as to its desirability, but it is thickly settled by a mixture of the negro with the scum of a decayed Latin race. The same conditions exist, to a greater or lesser extent, in all the West Indian Islands, with the possible exception of St. Thomas.

There are many other facts which make the annexation of one or all of the West Indies a question of an altogether different nature. Hawaii is comparatively limited in area, and is entirely isolated so that its possession would not involve us in further acquisition. But if we should annex one of the Islands in the West Indies, the geographical position of the group would necessitate our assuming control over all in order to protect ourselves. The establishment of such a policy would be the signal for many European complications.

Hawaii holds the same relation to the Pacific coast that Bermuda holds to the Atlantic; and I think there would be no opposition here should England offer to make us a present of that valuable colony.

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